

The Tanzania Teachers Union:
Pay, Politics, and Performance

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Declaration

I attest that this thesis has been composed solely by myself, and is my own work. All references to others' work are appropriately cited. I also attest that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Abstract

This qualitative inquiry into the Tanzanian education system is based upon a thirteen-month period of ethnographic research in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro. It foregrounds the political and economic background to Tanzanian teachers' everyday lives. Through an in-depth study of the Tanzania Teachers Union and a case study of a single secondary school, the thesis explores the relationship between pay and performance. The study argues that in order to interpret this dynamic it is essential to have an understanding of the history of work in Tanzania, as there are long roots to some of the most germane features of their employment.

Particular attention is given to "teacher politics" and the research chronicles the profession's efforts since the 1920s to find a platform for their voice through teachers' associations and unions. Pivotal to this discussion are the events surrounding the 1993/4 national teachers' strike and the establishment of the Tanzania Teachers Union. The Union's 2000 elections are also covered in some depth.

The final chapter re-creates the life of the school, and illustrates how these economic and political factors impinge upon teachers' professional work and threaten the integrity and meaning of the school experience. The chapter foregrounds the school's cultural background, and discusses the specific social and economic function that the school fulfils in teachers' lives. Here the focus is upon the issues of teacher absenteeism, their involvement in additional money making enterprises and the controversial practice of extra tuition.

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Though it is impossible to mention everybody by name, I am most grateful to the many people who have helped me with this study.

I would especially like to thank the President of the Tanzania Teachers Union, Margaret Sitta, for granting me permission to research the union. I am also very grateful to Fulgence Swai for sharing with me his encyclopaedic knowledge of Tanzania Trade Unionism, and the “three wise men” of Morogoro Region’s TTU who kindly answered my often very naïve questions. Special thanks should also go to the headmaster of Morogoro Secondary school, Mr. Mkuki, little George and large George and all the members of the Union – *ushikamano daima!!*

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Abbreviations

AA	African Association
AATO	All African Teachers Organisation
ACEA	Commercial Employees Association
ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party
CCFE	Commonwealth Consortium for Education
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CCTTA	Christian Council of Tanganyika Teachers Association
CHAKIWATA	Chama cha Kitaaluma cha Walimu Tanzania
CTF	Canadian Teachers Federation
CWT	Chama cha Walimu Tanzania
DOAG	Deutch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft
DEO	District Education Officer
DLF	Danish Union of Teachers
ESR	Education and Self-Reliance
FFU	Field Force Unit
FISE	World Federation of Teachers' Unions
FPE	Free Primary Education
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
IFFTU	International Federation of Free Teachers Unions
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JASPA	Jobs And Skills Programme for Africa
JUWATA	Jumuiya ya Wafanyakazi wa Tanzania
KNUT	Kenya National Union of Teachers
LO-FTF	Danish Trade Union Council for Trade Union Development Programmes
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture

MUWATA	Muungano wa Wanafunzi wa Tanzania
MWEMA	Mpango wa Kuendeleza Wanawake katika Mashamba Makubwa
NCCR	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NESP	National Economic Survival Programme
NET	Net Enrolment Ratio
NSSF	National Social security Fund
NUTA	National Union of Tanganyika
OTTU	Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions
PEDP	Primary Education Development Programme
PEN	Primary Education Network
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
RAU	Railway African Union
REO	Regional Education Officer
SALTU	Shambalai African Lutheran Teachers Union
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Programme
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TACTA	Tanganyika African Catholic Teachers Union
TTACSA	Tanganyika Territory African Civil Services Association
TAGSA	Tanganyika African Government Servants Association
TASTA	Tanganyika Asian School Teachers Association
TATA	Tanganyika African Teachers Association
TANU	Tanganyika National Union
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission
TEN	Tanzania Education Network
TESCOS	Teachers Saving and Credit Society
TFL	Tanganyika Federation of Labour
TISA	Tanganyika Indian Schools Association
TNUT	Tanganyika National Union of Teachers
TOT	Tanzania One Theatre

TPA	Tanzania Parents Association
TPAWU	Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union
TRC	Teachers Resource Centre
TSC	Teachers' Service Commission
TTCSA	Tanganyika Territory Civil Services Association
TTU	Tanzania Teachers Union
TUAT	Tanganyika Union of African Teachers
TUGHE	Tanzanian Union of Government Health Workers
UDASA	University of Dar es Salaam Academic Staff Assembly
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UMISETA	Umoja wa Michezo wa Shule za Sekondari Tanzania
UNITASHUMTA	Umoja wa Michezo na Taaluma wa Shule za Msingi Tanzania
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UTS	Unified Teaching Service
WCOTP	The World Confederation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession
WFTU	World Federation of Teachers Unions
ZNP	Zanzibar National Party

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Prologue

On the 8th December 1993 Peter Mashanga embarked upon the short journey from Arnoutoglu Hall in the Mnazi Moja area of Dar es Salaam to State House. If he had undertaken such an action just a few months before he would have attracted little attention, however things had changed in the school teacher's life. He had started the year as a little known minor branch representative in the teachers' wing of the Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions (OTTU), but was now set to end it with his face adorning the front pages of the national newspapers, and his words inspiring other teachers from within Tanzania's vast hinterland to join him in a national strike. Not since the Father of the Nation, Julius Nyerere, took over leadership of the Tanzania's independence movement in the 1950s had a practising teacher attracted so much government scrutiny!

A further reason for the significance of Mashanga's journey was the simple fact that he was not alone. After much wrangling the then President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, had finally consented after nearly forty days of industrial action, to meet with a delegation of sixty teachers to hear their demands. Perhaps buoyed by his sudden rise to prominence and the ground swell of popular support the strike had engendered in the country Mashanga rather opportunistically chose to extract as much political capital as possible out of the situation. He could have gone with many more than sixty teachers, as a large and angry crowd had gathered to see him off, but instead went with thirty-two. The number was meant to symbolise as teachers' folklore has it thirty-two years of oppression. The irony of the decision was not lost to the ordinary man and woman on the street, for when the delegation marched by them on foot (they had spurned the transport laid on for them by the state) for the country was about to celebrate on the following day – the 9th December – thirty two years of independence.

On arrival Mashanga began by reading from a letter he had written on the 21st October that year (ten days before the start of the strike) to the President in which he set out teachers concerns. Entitled "*Pan Republican Tanzania Teachers Demands*", the letter gave notice of teachers' intention to strike on the 1st November 1993 if their demands were not met. "It is high time we stomach no more hollow and empty promises" (Mashanga, 1993:2).

His letter went on to demand that teachers and their direct dependants should be provided with 'comprehensive medical care' and be allowed to attend both private and public hospitals. In addition it was suggested that an 'emergency medical fund' (60,000 Tanzania shillings) a 'lunch allowance' (60,000 shillings), a 'transport allowance' (60,000 shillings), a 'housing allowance' (60,000 shillings), and a 'hardship allowance' (60,000 shillings) should be paid to each teacher every month. If this was not enough generous assistance with funeral expenses was also requested, and a calculation was made to compensate teachers for the fall in real income experienced by the profession since independence due to the devaluation of the Tanzanian Shilling. It was argued that because £1 Sterling equalled only 20 shillings in 1961, and now in 1993 was the equivalent of 750 shillings, teachers' salaries should rise by 3650%!

Not reading from a pre-prepared speech Mwinyi's response was stamped with his own personal hallmark,ⁱ and was intended to convey the message that he was an approachable president who sympathised with them over their financial difficulties. He managed to ignore the delegation's decision to walk to State House, and brushed aside with some aplomb the symbolic criticism of his party's governance since independence, "Today 32 of you are present. For such discussion, that is an ample number. I do not think there is any need of talking to say 4,000 people" (*Daily News*, 29/12/93). However, he could not

ⁱ For this reason it took nearly three weeks for a full transcript of President Mwinyi's response to the teachers to be published in the Tanzanian English medium newspaper the *Daily News* on the 29th December 1993.

entirely disguise his anger at the temerity of their extravagant demands and was clearly uncertain as to the delegation's legal standing.

You are teachers – and teachers are a group of people with a specific profession. Your demands are supposed to be twofold. The first aspect has to do with incentives, but people with professions do not just end on incentives. I thought, probably, the other aspect has to do with your profession because the nation has entrusted you with teaching its children. I thought that together with fighting for your incentives, perhaps, you should also have other issues concerning your working environment. However, if you have come as a trade union to speak only for your incentives, I thought it wise to ensure it were so. If you have come as a trade union, then let us base our discussion on your perks. Still I leave the floor open for others with divergent views like those with ideas pertaining to improving, particularly, our profession. I say our profession because I am one of you. I give you an opportunity to be heard (*Daily News*, 29/12/93).

Appealing to their sense of patriotism and professional calling he made it quite clear that the country's poor economic position made it impossible to pay the huge salary and allowance increases detailed above.

I wouldn't like you to leave this place with the impression that your work is not valued. It is valued. In fact, more so. But you are servants of our nation Tanzania, and you have the call to work for our nation...But for us Tanzanians, where there is no money, there is no money. We can not be adamant enough, there is no way out. On the other hand, your demands are appropriate if the funds were available (sic). But dear friends, the funds are simply not there (ibid).

The teachers' representatives were not satisfied with the President's pledges, and when offered refreshments one angry female representative shouted "We did not come for soda" and with her fellow strikers "Stormed out of the State House" to continue the industrial action.

I have chosen to begin with this colourful vignette because it not only records a significant event in the history of Tanzanian teacher trade unionism, but raises a number of questions about that country's teaching profession and industrial relations that I shall

endeavour to answer in the forthcoming chapters. What had caused teachers to strike in the first place? Why did they choose to register their complaints in such a deeply ironical manner? What did Mashanga mean by “thirty years of oppression”? Was there any substance behind his allegation that the profession had stomached “hollow and empty promises”? Why were so many of the demands related to allowances? Was it really the case that salaries lagged so far behind the rate of inflation? If so, why had such a situation come to pass? Why was Mwinyi uncertain as to whether the delegation had come as a union or not? What was the President doing negotiating directly with strikers? Was there no other alternative formal machinery in place to handle grievances? Why was a verbatim account of the negotiations published in the newspapers? How did the strike eventually conclude? How did the events of 1993 shape the present? Are Tanzanian teachers still demanding inflation busting allowances? Have their salaries increased? Are they happier with their lot in life today than they were a decade ago? Did the strike bring about any improvements in the quality of their professional representation and performance?

Chapter One
Nature of the Inquiry

It is an undeniable fact that a teacher is a pillar of all kinds of development in society. More than 80% percent of Tanzanians pass through the hands of teachers before entering various fields of life. What do you think will happen in this nation if teachers do not get their rights in due time, and fail to get the tools or knowledge/enlightenment of how to claim their rights? The real life situation and development of Tanzania currently, and in the future, will depend upon how we can answer this important need concerning a teacher and his/her rights. If we delay in finding an early solution, education will dwindle and eventually reach rock bottom. And that will be the end of the Tanzanian nation. What has the Government done about teachers' academic knowledge, work and welfare problems? What has the community done to provide a conducive working environment for teachers? What have we teachers done to remove the various afflictions that deprive us of our rights and status; what have the religious organisations and private people done about the various impediments that are inflicted upon teachers by the employers? What steps have students and parents taken to eradicate teachers' problems? (CWT, 1997:xii)^a

^a *Chama cha Walimu Tanzania* is the Swahili for the Tanzania Teachers Union. For original Swahili version see Appendix A.

Chapter One

“The Nature of the Inquiry”

Earlier, educators were charged with lighting a torch on Kilimanjaro as a beacon for all of Africa. In the 1990s, their task is to struggle for survival in a shantytown (Samoff & Sumra, 1994: 134).

The above quotation captures the essence of this thesis as through my argument I would like to invite the reader into the interior of the Tanzanian educational system and tell, in a voiced and contextually embedded way, the rather sad story of contemporary government teachers' every day lives. The data presented was principally collected in the municipal district of Morogoro and the major coastal city of Dar es Salaam during thirteen months fieldwork that began in October 1999 and concluded in November 2000. The timing of the fieldwork is essential to its understanding, because I set out to examine to examine the vast terrain of the present. By so doing, I hope to address the unfortunate fact that African “social theory has failed also to account for time as lived” (Mbembe, 2001: 8). It is therefore a topical, academic enquiry that is coloured by a number of nationally significant events that took place during its duration. Namely, the death of the first president of the country and father of the nation Julius Nyerere on the 14th October 1999, and Tanzania's second multiparty elections on the 29th October 2000.

The place is of less significance, as the subject of the study is the typical urban teacher - an every-man figure of average means that is employed as a civil servant by the Tanzanian State¹ - and I set out to both describe and explain his/her habitus. Ward, in his introduction to the English edition of Certeau's 1977 work, *The practice of everyday*

¹ Although mention might be made of the private sector, for the most part the study is restricted to government primary, secondary and tertiary teachers and does not refer to teachers working on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The three groups of teachers discussed are all subject to the same conditions of service and share a common pay scale.

life defines habitus as “the external practices produced by the unconscious internalisation of certain structures and ways of seeing and acting that compose a specific society at a specific time” (Ward, 2000: 2).²

I have two core objectives. Firstly, I aim to provide a valid portrait of the common Tanzanian teacher’s lot in life, and by a process of historical analysis, place teachers’ current financial circumstances within the specific political, socio-economic, and educational trajectory of the country. The story begins in the precolonial era. However, special attention will be given to near history and the narrative will become denser in detail the closer it gets to the present. Included will be a discussion of teachers’ pay and conditions of service, the history of Tanzanian trade unionism, and the operational character of her civil service.

My second aim is to explore the deceptively simple hypothesis that poor pay has a negative impact upon the quality of education, and to raise a number of ethical concerns that are not easy to aggregate but are nevertheless central to the integrity of the school experience and the teaching profession. For it to be properly understood it requires from the reader an emotional³ and not just an intellectual interaction with the text as, “Today - no sane and sincere person can stand up and say that everything is alright with our (Tanzania’s) educational system” (Lwekamwa, 1998: 25).

It is hoped that by focussing on the economic aspect of teachers’ lives, what follows will come close to the heart of the problem. As the tale unfolds, the reader will be introduced to a whole cast of characters in the plot that includes presidents, prime ministers, ministers of education, permanent secretaries, academics, local government and trade

² The term *habitus* was first coined by Pierre Bourdieu in his 1977 work ‘*Outline of a theory of practice*’. However, as his elliptic style is difficult to read I have been compelled for reasons of readability to refer to another author.

³ Later in this chapter, I provide an account of my experience of conducting participant observation in a Tanzanian secondary school.

union officials, regional and district educational officers, head-teachers, and above all the normal teachers of the front line. By so doing, it will provide a detailed description and explanation of the genuine state of the Tanzanian education system as understood by its most permanent actors, and will in turn combine to produce a piece of topical commentary on her civil service in general and broader contemporary Tanzania.

*Bongo*⁴ is the Swahili⁵ word for the brain and a slang term for Tanzania. It describes a place where you have to use your brain to survive and succeed and is associated with one-up-manship and trickery. It is used to depict a 'dog eat dog' world in which life is a constant haggles and where cunning is rewarded. Consequently, many Tanzanians spend a great deal of time and energy using their wits to seek out sources of income within the environment that surrounds them. The *Bongo* mentality is ubiquitous in Tanzania and unfortunately enters the school through teachers' minds and habitual actions.⁶

The research sees teachers as being first people, then civil servants and finally members of a profession. Moreover, it deliberately opens the classroom door out to society so as to pay more attention to the contemporary social setting in which teachers work. Emphasis will be placed on the financial pressures that affect teachers' lives; and the thesis will begin to answer the question "what does society do for the school?"

⁴ See Sommers, M. (2001) *Fear in Bongoland: Burundi refugee in urban Tanzania*, Berghan, Books: Oxford.

⁵ Since the adoption of Kiswahili as the national language of Tanganyika in 1963, and as one of its two official languages in 1967 (the other being English), both the number of Kiswahili speakers, and its range of linguistic functions, has significantly increased. People are able to buy a wide range of Kiswahili medium newspapers such as *Nipashe* and *Mmegi*, and the language is now used in parliament and the law courts (Mwansoko, 1990: 133). It is spoken by over 90% of the Tanzanian population (Rubagumya, 1990:9) and has spread to such an extent that it is estimated that "native speakers of Kiswahili are outnumbered by a ratio of more than thirty to one" (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1995: 22). Originally spoken by the coastal people of Tanganyika and Kenya, and the islands of Lamu, Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia the language began to spread into the interior of the continent at the end of the 18th century (Rubagumya: 1990:5). Though Omani Arab traders were settling in Zanzibar from as early as 1700 (Mbughuni, 1974), the establishment of Sayyid Said ibn's Sultancy in Zanzibar in 1832 accelerated the trade in spices, ivory and slaves, which in turn facilitated the expansion of Kiswahili.

⁶ See Chapter 5, "The School Environment"

Though "every institution captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them" (Goffman, 1965: 15) it is clear that the average Tanzanian school is not a "total institution" that is completely cut off from the outside world (ibid, 6). Neither would it be true to say that teachers are remarkably different than the vast majority of the Tanzania *wananchi* (citizens) who have not found themselves formal sector employment. I will thus include in my definition of teachers' practice (i.e. what they do) activities that may appear on the face of it more concerned with the business of economic survival.

I would like to argue that as workers' rights are essentially human rights, research into teachers' everyday lives merits study on its own terms. However, it is an unfortunate fact that given the varied and competing moral pressures placed upon developing countries' fragile economies, any conclusions made might be sidelined without an attempt to draw connections between teachers' poor economic position and the calibre of their work. In a country in which only 7% of the age cohort enrol in government secondary schools (Department For International Development, 1999: 2) and "educated unemployment" is the norm rather than the rule; it is perhaps all too easy to see teachers as some of the lucky few who have found a formal job and a passport into the "modern world" (Dore, 1976: 4 & 6). Though it is acknowledged that African public sector workers are paid lower salaries than their counterparts in Europe and America, they are seen by Northern governments to be wealthier than the poorest Africans.

The very poorest people are rarely in the organised workforce. While unions have an interest in organising the unorganised, they also have an interest in supporting economic development for poor people who are not in a position to join trades unions (Department For International Development, 2000: 8).

In the next section I will introduce the reader to some of the harsh realities of Tanzanian teachers' lot and their alternative modernity.

A Tanzanian Teacher's lot

Low Salaries and Perennial Hardships

Throughout the developing world the standard of teachers' living conditions is in decline and this situation is "gradually eroding their availability and their commitment to teaching" (Department For International Development. 1999: 26). In addition, it is also understood that because of the erosion in salaries, "supplementary private tutoring has become a huge business" (Bray, 2000: 25) and "many teachers have been forced to supplement their meagre incomes by offering private lessons or running their own businesses, to the detriment of their regular attendance and performance in schools" (UNICEF, 1999: 39). The situation in Tanzania is in keeping with this common trend, and in 1999 the purchasing power of a teacher's salary stood at 56% of its 1977 level (Kuleana, 1999:31).

Life for Tanzania's *wananchi* at the time of the millennium was very much focussed on the "here and now", and like other members of society teachers spent a great deal of the time trying to "make ends meet in a more rosy manner" (Mr. Mrutu, The Tanzanian Assistant Commissioner of Education, F/N 13/6/200). Inevitably, this would involve interaction with the local community and was shaped by the strength of their social networks, and by the opportunities that lay in the environment that surrounded them. AM provides the following description of the financial pressures faced by the profession. Though it refers to no teacher in particular, it depicts, through its attention to humdrum detail, a picture of a hand-to-mouth existence and the endless cycle of struggle and debt.

Government teachers are very poor! A teacher might come back home to find there is no food in the house, so his wife sends him out to get 2 kgs of maize flour. He knows he can't go to the local shop because he went there yesterday and he owes them money. So he goes to another shop half an hour away. When he gets there the owner has gone out and there is only a youth serving. He is told to wait. After an hour, the manager returns. The teacher explains that as soon as he gets his salary he will pay him back. The shopkeeper then says, "But last time your salary was late and you didn't pay me back. You can have a Kilo of maize but make sure you pay me back". When he gets home –

after two hours – his wife is angry with him as there is only enough for one meal. He will have to do it all again the next day (AM, F/N, 3/4/2000).

Indeed, this kind of “hand to mouth” is so prevalent in Tanzania that a Swahili word *kubangahiza* has been coined. When people *bangahiza* they get just a little money at one time that is only enough to solve one particular problem, and never sufficient to take care of all their needs. People are therefore constantly having to *bangahiza* and are permanently distracted from other tasks by the lure of some money to be gained elsewhere. Teachers frequently have to *bangahiza* when the salaries arrive late, or when they are confronted by an unforeseen *shida* (problem) which they do not have the financial means to solve. In such cases they might have to liquidate some of their inter-relational assets and seek the help of people with whom “they have a good relationship with” in the community (GE, F/N 27/11/99).⁷

Allowances

The task of assessing the real income that teachers gain from their formal sector job may seem at first glance a simple one but is in fact more complicated than one might expect, as an *allowance culture* has taken root in the country. This has, “as it is well known, made pay structures overall to be less transparent, more inequitable and very costly to the Government” (Mtatifikolo, 1994: 1999). In order to check out my starting hypothesis that teachers were not paid enough, it was not possible to “disregard fringe benefits” just because data on them was “not easily available” (Maliyamkono and Bagachwa, 1990: 41).

⁷ *Kubangahiza* can also be used in a sarcastic manner to describe moments of more conspicuous consumption as the following extract from my field notes reveals. “So I decided to leave and got a taxi with Mubarak my usual cabby. While we reversed out of the hotel he saw some friends of his sitting at a bar drinking beer and he leaned over me and shouted, “*Habari za kubangahiza*” (“How is the bangahizing going”). I was a little surprised by this and asked why he used that greeting. “Well they have made money and now they are enjoying spending it.” This is interesting as the term is not just about surviving but succeeding. There are lots of connotations here that I hadn’t really appreciated and help to explain why people laugh when I say the word. It’s all a bit like “The Politics of the Belly” and relates to Bongoism”. For a more detailed discussion see Bayart, J. (1993) *The state in Africa: the politics of the belly*, Longman: London. p.xviii.

A job in the public service carries with it a salary. In a situation of massive underemployment a salary, even if it is modest, paid late and irregularly, is no trivial thing...For the most part, however, they are, at least to western eyes, relatively modest and eroded by inflation. But they also carry numerous perks such as accommodation, cars, bursaries for children, health care and overseas travel, which are sometimes very big...and which are always highly valued because of their variety (Bayart, 1993: 75).

It is more than just an accounting exercise as it is puzzling in country where salaries are so low there should be so many high allowances available. In trying to answer this question it is helpful to try and see allowances as Tanzanian's do and ask the question, 'Is it necessarily wrong for people to get more money from allowances than they do from their salaries?' The answer to this, as with most things, is yes and no, and depends upon whether a teacher gains access to a particular allowance or not, and if that allowance is justified. It is not wrong that allowances exist as incentives for improved performance, or as a means to enable them to carry out their professional duties. However, it is wrong when allowances are promised and not delivered, given only to a few people, or used to preserve the status quo and curry political favour.

Alternative sources of income and the Informal Economy

Despite having benefited from the school system by obtaining salaried employment, allowances, knowledge, and a certain status in society, teachers are thus by no means immune from the economic pressures that afflict the majority of the Tanzanian population. The financial problems that teachers face are myriad and are real in that they can not just be simply "*wished away*" (Berger & Luckman, 1966:13). It is important to stress that the way in which teachers relate to the educational system is governed by this stark economic reality and many teachers simply have no choice but to divert their attention away from their professional duties, and to enter the "informal economy".

The term the "informal economy" was first coined by Keith Hart in Ghana in 1971 (King, 1996) and was used to describe the income generating activities of unskilled and

illiterate Frafra migrants in the capital Accra. Writing in 1973, Hart described the informal economy thus:

The distinction between formal and informal and informal income opportunities is based essentially on that between wage earning and self-employment. The key variable is the degree of rationalisation of work – that is to say, whether or not labour is recruited on a permanent and regular basis for fixed rewards. Most enterprises that run with some measure of bureaucracy are amenable by surveys, and – as such – constitute the ‘modern sector’ of the urban economy. The remainder – that is, those who escape enumeration – are variously classified as ‘the low –productivity urban sector’, ‘the reserve army of the underemployed and unemployed’, ‘the urban traditional sector’ and so on (Hart, 1973: 68).

The above definition illustrates the difficulty people experience when trying to decide what kind of activities should be classified as informal. Under its umbrella a whole host of activities are included. Efforts have been made to sub-divide the sector. Hart preferred to use the labels ‘legitimate’ and ‘illegitimate’ informal sector opportunities. It is of value to outline in more detail Hart’s classification.

Informal income opportunities: legitimate

- (a) *Primary and Secondary activities* – farming, market gardening, building contractors and associated activities, self employed artisans, shoemakers, tailors, manufacturers of beers and spirits.
- (b) *Tertiary enterprises with relatively large capital inputs* – housing, transport, utilities, commodity speculation, rentier activities.
- (c) *Small –scale distribution* – market operatives, petty traders, street hawkers, caterers in food and drink, bar attendants, carriers, commission agents, and dealers.
- (d) *Other services* – musicians, launderers, shoeshiners, barbers, night soil removers, photographers, vehicle repair and other maintenance workers, brokerage and middlemanship, ritual services, magic and medicine.
- (e) *Private transfer payments* – gifts and similar flows of money and goods between persons; borrowing; and begging

Informal income opportunities: illegitimate

(a) *Services* – hustlers and spivs in general; receivers of stolen goods; usury and pawnbroking (at illegal rates); drug-pushing, prostitution, poncing ('pilot boy'), smuggling, bribery, political corruption Tammany Hall- style, protection rackets.

(b) *Transfers* – petty theft (e.g. pick pockets), larceny (e.g. burglary and armed robbery), peculation and embezzlement, confidence tricksters (e.g. money doublers}, gambling (Hart, 1973: 69).

Maliyamkono and Bagachwa (1990) in their seminal work, use the term "second economy" for "informal economy" and have rightly highlighted the extent of civil servants' involvement in this form of economic activity, "Its persuasiveness is now deep-rooted and even those who would otherwise not want to get involved find themselves doing so through sheer necessity" (1990: 133). Unfortunately, the study is unable to comment on how public sector workers' involvement in these activities affects their professional performance. Cooksey found in a 1990 SIDA/World Bank sponsored study into Tanzanian teachers' living and working conditions that nearly two thirds of the 390 secondary school teachers sampled "admitted to having a second income" (Cooksey, 1990: 41). While 72% of the sample said that they grew food for their own consumption, only 27% were prepared to say that they taught extra tuition classes. The study also found that "private school teachers are twice as likely as government school teachers to undertake private tuition" (ibid, 42).

Furthermore, there is little understanding of the level of interplay between teachers' different activities and to what effect time spent on non-school activities has on the educational system. This lack of hard data the ramifications of teachers' declining status and economic position in society has meant that its impact on the provision of education in the country has been understated. Common-sense, "the knowledge I share with others in the normal, self-evident routines of everyday life" (Berger & Luckman, 1966: 27) would seem to suggest that there must come a point when the amount of time spent away from the classroom will have a negative impact on children's learning. All too often, domestic concerns make an appearance in the work place and I hope to capture

something of the 'here and now' opportunistic character of teachers' lives. King gives the following state of the art summary of our knowledge of the phenomenon.

For one thing, the bulk of those who had what used to be thought of as a 'real job' in the formal sector have found that the salary from that alone has not been sufficient to support themselves, let alone their families. Hence, whether they were teachers, lecturers or civil servants, they have undertaken additional income-generating activities outside their original formal sector job. In many cases this second job will bring as much or more income than the first, it may well be assisted by the leverage of the first, and unlike the first it will tend to be untaxed (King. 1996:193).

The reasons as to why educational research into teacher voice has for so long been guilty of an apparent 'agoraphobia' (defined here as a fear to look outside the classroom) are complex. Firstly, many researchers have themselves backgrounds in educational departments and, therefore, feel most familiar with the classroom environment. A second reason as to why few scholars have undertaken this kind of research lies with the proximity of Tanzanian own academics to the question at hand. The inability of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) to provide her academics with adequate financial remuneration (University of Dar es Salaam, 2000: 8) is seen as a potential threat by the university authorities and has meant that many of them have a "second office" (ibid: 87).⁸

Perhaps this is a case of the 'chickens coming home to roost' as all undergraduates at the university receive courses on entrepreneurship. An awkward contradiction therefore exists at the very top of the Tanzanian education system as though UDSM aims as one of her basic objectives "to create a sense of entrepreneurship" in her students it is not at all clear how that links to creating "public responsibility" in the educated (p.6). Though UDSM has a national obligation to ensure that those graduates who do not find formal

⁸ Whether it be fleets of *daladala* (minibuses), the New Viagra Bar, or the importance of the *bahasha* (the envelope given for attendance at senate meetings) it is clear that some university lecturers resemble the teachers who are the focus of this study. This is not at all surprising as they are also products of Tanzanian society and share common cultural and educational backgrounds.

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employment “are able to become job creators rather than job seekers” (p.9) it is untrue that all graduates will find themselves in a situation “where there is no job” (Grierson, 1994). Indeed graduates from the university’s faculty of education are especially likely to find formal employment in their specialised field. Masudi et al (1999) in a recent tracer study found that out of a sample of 123 education graduates, only six had left the profession altogether.

It is important to be very careful with my language here as what is problematic is not that teachers have alternative sources of income but how they choose to manage them. I am not really interested in providing a detailed account of what teachers do in their spare time, but in showing the impact that their involvement in additional money making enterprises has on the education system. Perhaps a more worrying concern is that all too often domestic concerns make an appearance in the workplace and that the *habitus* of the informal economy has been transposed onto the school environment. What I mean by this is that the dispositions and characteristics that are most appropriate to a field that is defined in terms of financial capital (i.e. making money) have now found relevance within the field of education.⁹ It is evident in Tanzania’s “allowance culture” and can also be seen in the teaching of private tuition classes – a practice which has led to the development of mercenary relationship between themselves and their students (Kabir, 1956, cited in Sambo, 1999: 10). All of this is in conflict with Tanzania’s socialist past¹⁰ and has distorted the meaning of schooling.¹¹

For something to be called a habit, it must have taken place some time in the past and be repeated on a regular basis. This kind of conduct, however unprofessional, has become so ingrained into the very fabric of the education system that teachers do not necessarily

⁹ See Jenkins, R. (1992) *Pierre Bourdieu*, Routledge: London (p.78).

¹⁰ See section entitled “*Ujamaa* and the Turner Report” in Chapter 2.

¹¹ See Chapter 5, “School Environment”

recognise that they are doing it. It is not so much that teachers deliberately go to work with the expressed intention of making money, but that they do not consciously drop these concerns when they enter the school. It is almost as if the public has become a mere continuation of the private, with no clear lines of professional demarcation between the two domains.

As many teachers' income generating activities utilise school children as their clientele, it is tempting to concur with Bayart that, "In such conditions, a servant of the State makes his money from the people he administers rather than from his official salary" (1993: 78). Corruption is systemic within the formal school system and is very much part of every day round of life. However, the sums of money available to teachers in non-managerial positions from bribes and corrupt practices are very small. The vast majority of children attending government schools do not have a lot of money at their fingertips, and what is extracted through extraversion¹² tends to be done so at a higher level. On the whole, teachers are more likely to be victims than perpetrators of corruption.

It is important to get across that it is almost impossible to disentwine the economic from the political when discussing the teacher's lot, and that we disregard local power dimensions at our peril. Maliyamkono and Bagachwa in their 1990 study "found that the motive behind second economy activities was non-political, owing to the absence of organisational channels or political ideology. Most people who are engaged in the second economy activities were either businessmen in search of profits or ordinary people - workers and peasants - out to survive. Such second economy activities are not a political threat, at least at present, but they certainly pose an economic challenge to the

¹² Bayart (1991:21) defines extraversion as the profit to be gained from contact with the external world – and suggests that teachers because of their symbolic function as gatekeepers to the modern world have been able to economically mine this interface (ibid, 75). Also see Bayart, J. (2000) "Africa in the world: a history of extraversion", in *African Affairs: centenary issue, a hundred years of Africa*, Vol. 99, No. 395, pp.217-269.

official establishment." (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990: 134). This study will proffer an alternative reading of the 'straddling' phenomenon that will argue that civil servants' involvement in extra income generating activities today (and most probably back in 1990) has a political dimension.

Subaltern Sentiment

Teachers' poor pay has not just affected teachers' pockets but has also created a huge reservoir of political resentment. Gramsci first used the term "subaltern" (inferior rank) to describe social groupings who sit outside the main corridors of power, and who are subject to the power of the state (Gramsci, 1971, cited in Ashcroft et al., 2000: 215). It was later picked up by historians of India, who used the imagery of the army barrack to highlight the way that political discourse takes place in different domains and is thus not the sole preserve of the elite (Chatterjee, 1993 and Guha, 1997). Though the term is more usually associated with South East Asia studies, it is organic to our situation as many teachers hold the government responsible for their plight, and find ways to resist and subvert their orders. It manifests itself through irony and sarcasm, and may take place "offstage" (Scott, 1990:4) out of sight of management, or in highly stylised meetings with government officials.

It is all too easy when talking about the contemporary Tanzanian identity to fall into the trap of oversimplification by characterising people as either supporting or opposing the state. Such tidy dichotomies rarely exist, and, in reality, the situation is much more complex and difficult to map. People have multiple identities at their disposal and react differently in different contexts. Financial restraints also militate against their ability to be consistent over time and because of this, there is fluidity in the nature of response. In one scenario, opposition may be hidden behind a wall of silence, in another it may be heard through the instrument of a community or organisation. Guerrilla activities such as anonymous letters by concerned groups such as teachers, children, and parents to the editor is just one such example. Nothing in *Bongo* is ever quite what it seems as

individual actors wear different hats, and it would be reductionist to suggest that everything can be described in terms of resistance.

Laissez Faire Management

In response to these problems a laissez faire style of management within the civil service in general and the education system in particular has emerged (Osaki, 2000: 10). This has meant that it is has become increasingly difficult for head teachers to demand anything but the bare minimum from their charges. It has become the norm for supervisors to adopt a stance of "benign neglect" and to turn a blind eye to teachers' habitual truancy. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the financial pressures with which teachers have to contend mean that school heads often have to exhibit a high degree of cultural expertise when dealing with their staff, and sometimes they have little option but to prioritise teachers' social and economic welfare over the educational interests of the students.

Conceptual Landscape

In order to understand why the Tanzanian teaching profession is characterised by low salaries and perennial hardships, alternative sources of income, the pursuit of allowances, unprofessional behaviour, subaltern sentiment, and a laissez faire style of management, I would like to provide the reader with a theoretical framework for explaining Tanzanian teachers' everyday lives. The core concepts presented below will act as tent-pegs for the empirical data given in the main body of the thesis.

The Nature of Work and the Non-emancipated State

In his preface to Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* Jean-Paul Sartre gives the following description of the African educated elite, "The European elite undertook to manufacture a native elite. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of western culture; they stuffed their mouths

full with high-sounding phrases, grand glutinous words that stuck to the teeth. After a short stay in the mother country they were sent home, white-washed" (cited in Fanon, 1963:7). Since Franz Fanon (1952 & 1963) wrote his scathing criticisms of the African postcolonial administration, scholars have tended to accept his thesis that the continent's civil servants are corrupted members of an elite establishment. For instance Robert Chambers in his work on power relations in the developing world uses the term 'Elite' to describe "people who are less poor and more influential. They typically include progressive farmers, village leaders, headmen, traders, religious leaders, teachers, and paraprofessionals" (1983, 18). In a later work he develops this view that teachers are members of the elite. "On leaving school, college or university, well-magnetised graduates join bureaucracies and orient themselves naturally in the new hierarchical fields...They now in turn transfer their constructions of reality to those they find below them. Those who were taught become teachers, those who were dominated, dominate. Now powerful they disempower others" (1997: 62).

Fanon's interpretation of government workers has contributed to a general climate of Afro-scepticism that has been applied monolithically across the continent. As a result of this, study of African formal sector workers and organised labour has dropped out of fashion and has "not generated the kind of intellectual excitement that it once did" (Cooper, 1996: 13). This is a pity as a study of the civil service provides the researcher with a specific window through which s/he can observe the state's daily interaction with its citizens. A strong motivation behind the research, therefore, is a desire to begin an academic re-engagement with the African civil service, and to revisit our understanding of what it means to have formal employment in Tanzania. I would also like to try and show how the fusion of the formal world of work and the informal world of their involvement in additional money making enterprises combine to form a Tanzanian teacher's normal, everyday life. Indeed there exist strong symbiotic linkages between formal and informal sectors, with individuals switching across the two, even in the same working day (Rogerson & Preston – Whyte, 1991: 2). Furthermore, I will argue that far

from being a Fanonist figure, the Tanzanian public sector worker holds close bonds to the community in which s/he works. As a result of a long history of low pay and poor professional representation African public sector workers have failed to be “emancipated from society” (Chabal & Daloz, 1999: 4-8).

Chabal and Daloz in their book *Africa Works* argue that the development of a modern state depends “on the gradual emancipation of established political structures from society” and “the establishment and operation of a civil service unconstrained by the dynamics of social pressures” (1999: 5). In the Western model of a modern bureaucracy “appointment and advancement are based on meritocracy”, “salaries are commensurate with responsibility and are paid on time”, and “a real (as opposed to imaginary) bureaucratic career structure” exists (ibid, 6). By and large, Western public sector workers do not engage in additional money making activities because their salaries are sufficient for their needs and paid punctually. This leads to a clear demarcation between the civic and private spheres as public sector workers’ professional duties are highly regulated. Public sector workers understand that they are accountable to the general public and have “no legitimate claim on the assets or resources they administer” (p.5).

Chabal and Daloz contend that the African state fails to meet the criteria of a modern bureaucracy because it has not been sufficiently “institutionalised” or “structurally differentiated from society” (p.2). To them the post colonial state’s “dominant characteristic is that it is informal and personalised”, and they argue that in the absence of adequate salaries public sector workers, and political actors, take advantage of administrative inefficiency for personal ends (p.xix). The authors call this phenomenon the “political instrumentalisation of disorder” (p.xvii), and suggest that it should be seen “as a condition which offers opportunities for those who know how to play the system” (p.xix).

As we shall see in Chapter Five, the Tanzanian education system is also prone to administrative weaknesses and its government schools are subject to the same prevailing trend of informalisation that characterise other African government institutions. Moreover, teachers too engage in the low-level “political instrumentalisation of disorder” and have taken advantage of the confusion and anomalies that have arisen out of the country’s abandonment of one-party socialism in the early 1990s to ignore (with little threat from above) their terms and conditions of service so as to justify their pursuit of allowances and their involvement in the additional money making activities.

History and *la longue duree*

Looking at this thesis for the first time, the reader might be confused as to why a work which sets out to describe and explain contemporary teachers’ lives should give so much weight to historical analysis. Indeed, I too have found the exact nature of the relationship between the past and the present difficult to fathom. In trying to answer the question “Why do contemporary teachers behave in the way that they do?” I have been faced with the problem of where to begin, as each historical era seems to offer up a different explanation for Tanzanian teachers’ current predicament. In making the decision, the criterion that I chose was that I would need to give attention to the time when the features pertinent to current government teachers’ lives first came to the fore. Was there ever a time when teachers’ everyday lives were not characterised by low salaries, allowances, perennial hardships, and involvement in additional income activities, subaltern sentiment, and a *laissez faire* style of management?

At first, I believed that I did not need to turn back too many of the pages of time to find the origins of these features, and felt confident enough to adopt an interpretation based upon short-term historical factors. All evidence seemed to point to (a) the country’s economic crisis of the late 1970s and early 80s, and (b) the Tanzanian state’s subsequent *laissez faire* response to the problems resulting from this. In a nut shell, the first strand of the argument would be that teachers only turned to informal income generating activities

as a survival strategy on a grand scale after the cumulative affect of a drought in 1973/4, the world oil crisis of the same years, a further drought in 1975, the dismantlement of the East African Community in 1977, an expensive war with Idi Amin's Uganda in 1979, and a further global oil recession in the same year (Boesen et.al, 1986; Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990; Bryceson, 1993; and Mtatifikolo, 1994).

The second strand is that under the country's second president (Ali Hassan Mwinyi) a number of macro economic changes were implemented that heralded the gradual abandonment of Tanzania's socialist principles, and a movement towards a liberalised capitalist economy. For the *wananchi* (citizens) this period of ideological apostasy removed from their daily lives a layer of state scrutiny and prohibition, freeing civil servants up to engage in private business. In 1993, president Mwinyi, the captain of the new "permissive society", was to acquire the nickname *Mzee Rukhsa* (Old man *laissez faire*). After a *kiti moto*¹³ (roast pork) butcher had been murdered by Muslims in the Kimara suburb of Dar es Salaam, Mwinyi gave a speech in Zanzibar in which he pleaded for religious tolerance and said, "'*Kila mtu anaweza kula chakula chochote anachopenda. Rukhsa!*" ("Every person can eat any food that he likes. It is allowed!") (F/N 15/6/2000). The term *Rukhsa* is now applied retrospectively as a slang term for the period of liberalisation that had characterised Mwinyi's term in office.

Moreover, in addition to my acceptance of the 'crisis'/*Rukhsa* explanation for teachers' conduct, I was also convinced that I was writing a history of professional decline, which had entailed three elements. The first, and perhaps the most obvious, focused on the erosion in the size of the financial remuneration attached to being a member of the teaching profession. The second pointed to a slide in professional ethics. The third was concerned with a political "*fall from grace*", as under Julius Nyerere's premiership

¹³ The use of the phrase *kiti moto* to refer to roast pork owes its origin to a programme broadcast on Tanzania's ITV television channel, on which famous people were placed in the "hot seat" (the literal translation of *kiti moto*) and asked to answer difficult questions. Not just anybody could appear on the show. As pork meat was not sold in your average Tanzania butchers, people who wanted to eat the meat had to go to a special place out of sight of passers by.

(1961-1985) a schism in the body-politic emerged and post-colonial Tanzania became a battleground on which formal sector workers' aspirations for a more prosperous inheritance clashed with the ruling party's vision of a socialist utopia. The whole argument rested upon there having once been a time when Tanzanian teachers lived in a "*golden age*" which is now no more. The older teachers with whom I spoke during my fieldwork did little to dent this version of events, as the following fieldnote that was elicited in response to the question, "When did you join the teaching profession?" reveals.

This was in 1964, and I was selected even before I took my Cambridge exams. Only five people from our school were selected, and I was chosen because my performance wasn't that much bad. You know it was the happiest day of my life. My mother threw a party as a token of my success, and half the clan turned up. I was the first child to complete standard 12. My mother was so pleased that I was becoming a teacher as I could now become a steering machine for the whole family. I even remember one of my relatives making a speech saying that the rest of the family needed to follow my example...Teaching was really a well looked upon job and I became a good catch. I was so attractive, so well paid that I had to marry for my own safety. By 1970 I had started building my cottage at home in the village (WN, F/N 1/3/2000).

The view that teaching had once been a very good job indeed can be inferred from an article written in the immediate aftermath of President Nyerere's death on the 14th October, 1999. It read, "But as a young man he (Nyerere)¹⁴ resigned from a potentially lucrative and safe career to plunge into the turbulent waters of nationalist politics in the late 1950s" (Kaigurula, 2000: 23). We shall return to Nyerere's resignation from his teaching post in the next chapter; however, the point to be made here is how easy it is to gloss over this remark. It is something that I did, as it was not until some time after the fieldwork phase of my research that I came across this article again and began to consider the implications that it held for my thesis. Was it really the case that teaching was more lucrative work than that of a president? Surely not! And if not, what was teachers' real position in society at that time? If there had been such a time then what "had gone wrong

¹⁴

Author's own brackets.

so quickly after Independence?" (Kimambo, 1996: 246). Moreover, are the features of contemporary teachers' everyday lives (detailed above) mere products of *Rhuksa* and the economic crisis of the 1980s or remnants of older patterns of work and professional behaviour? The late 1970s and early 1980s were indeed very dark days for the Tanzanian population, and thus worthy of scholarly examination, but was this period enough in itself to forge entirely new behaviour? Similarly, if it is the case that this set of dispositions is a product of the crisis, then why are they still so evident today when the economic situation has significantly improved?

The initial feelings of unease that these questions raised in my mind quickly evolved into a full-blown state of dissonance. Reading through the literature presented in Chapter 2, I discovered, without too much difficulty, fragments of evidence that seemed to suggest that these same dispositions which I had understood to be "new", had been features of the Tanzanian economy for much longer than I had first thought. I therefore took stock of the situation and wondered why I had not taken heed of Braudel's warning of the perils attached to a history of events which "is the most exciting" kind of history, "the richest in human interest, and also the most dangerous. We must learn to mistrust this history with its still burning passions, as it was felt, described, and lived by contemporaries whose lives are as short and as short-sighted as ours" (Braudel 1966, cited in Mayne, 1993: xxv).

Importantly, I was not just interested here in the mere diagnosis of whether a symptom of everyday life was either new or old, but in continuity and the relationship between *habitus* and *la longue duree*, "A history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of a man in his relationship to his environment, a history of constant repetition, ever recurring cycles" (ibid: xxiv). If I could show that a given disposition has existed in a little altered form for a long period of time, then I could also pass prognostic comment on the likelihood of its long time survival. The longer the life span of a habit, the more likely it will be that it will continue into the future.

At face value, the people of mainland Tanzania have experienced a great deal of change over the last two centuries. Not only have they had to endure the ravages of two world wars and the global recession of the 1930s, but they have also seen the arrival of capitalism, the international slave trade, and the coming and going of two colonial masters. Since independence, this flurry of political activity has continued unabated with the country swinging first towards a socialist model of economic organisation in the late 1960s and 1970s, and then back to a more *laissez faire* economic system in the 1980s and 1990s. So frequent and varied have these alterations been, that it would seem reasonable to ask if they ever had enough time to fully take root. There has been so much change in fact that the policies of each new era seem to obscure and forget the aims, achievements and failings of those that went before.

Individuals, too, forget, and it is evident that my over-reliance on teachers' oral accounts of the profession's history gave me a vision of the past that was firmly rooted in the present and did not fully tally with the actual course of events. As Vansina (1965 & 1985) has pointed out, this is not so surprising. Oral accounts of the past are often shallow and selective and tend to be vulnerable to the passage of time. Full of silences and exaggerations, they quickly become traditions lodged in the shared common consciousness of a number of minds. Though these traditions go a long way to explaining teachers' current attitudes to their work, I felt it critical to place their negative accounts of postcolonial Tanzania in the deeper context of a history work.

Unfortunately, to write this history of continuity I had to fall back upon a large number of secondary sources from different periods. The exercise in synthesis has proved difficult because in my attempts to reinterpret the valuable empirical data that they contain in relationship to my own question, I have had to contend with different schools of historical thought. As a general rule, those written from a Nationalist perspective have tended to see Tanzania's colonial history as a long march towards independence. The economic side of life is subjugated to the political (Kimambo, 1969:82, cited in Maddox et. al 1996:245) and valuable data of interest to our story is placed out on the margins.

The following quotation is an interesting example, as it highlights the role that teachers, amongst others, played in the Lake Province in spreading the independence message while at the same time hiding their obvious involvement in trade.

Traders, teachers, mission employees or catechists, former government clerks, police officers or medical aides-men who had broken the bonds of rural life through education, and experience, travel, study and employment...when the farmers came to the trading centres to get supplies, they fraternised with the traders. When the traders tilled their own fields, they were neighbours of the farmers. While trading centres and mission stations were the initial focus points for leadership, the network of contacts spread easily from there into the countryside (Maguire, 1969:217-218, also cited in Iliffe, 1979:523).

Marxist interpretations have been equally preoccupied with politics, exaggerating the speed of class formation and the differences between social classes, resulting in a make-believe wedge between workers and peasants on the one hand, and the petty bourgeoisie on the other ("small property owners, shopkeepers and small traders, lower ranks of the intelligentsia and liberal professors" (Shivji, 1976: 21)).

Social Capital

The term Social Capital has "shot to prominence in recent years" (Fine, 1999: 1) and can be defined as the "rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity, and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives" (Narayan, 1997: 50). According to Fukuyama, Social Capital is "embodied in the smallest and most basic group, the family, as well as the largest of all groups, the nation, and in all groups in between" (Fukuyama, 1998: 7). Coleman (1990) suggests that there is an economic aspect to Social Capital. In communities in which reciprocal arrangements of trust exist, people are often better able to make the best of scarce resources. To support this claim, he gives the example of Egyptian market traders who will gladly direct business to neighbouring stalls secure in the knowledge that at a later date the favour will be returned. This action will be done, not in the cover of night, but in an open transparent

way, so as to encourage others to do likewise. The rules of the game are easy to learn, as the greater number of people there are playing ball, the larger the dividend; and the better the chances will be that the co-operation will survive the inevitable departure and deaths of key participants. The moral of the story is, therefore, that Social Capital is a resource that is owned by all, and those communities which have a high degree of mutual trust, can overcome common difficulties.

Putnam's (1993) scholarly longitudinal study of civic traditions in modern Italy has also emphasised the importance of group co-operation. His conclusion is that the different trajectories of local government reforms in Northern and Southern Italy can be explained by the different traditions of Civil Society that exist in the country. According to Putnam, the reason why reform led to more democratic government in the north, and not in the south, was that northern Italy has a "vibrancy of association life" (ibid, 91) invisible elsewhere. Membership in clubs allowed people an opportunity to discuss issues as a group, and meant that they were accustomed to the kind of consensus based decision making, so essential to democratic government.

Scholars have criticised Putnam's findings for their failure to pay sufficient attention to the type of group people belong to, and one would be justified to query how being a member of a local football team helps promote responsible government. Surely not all social groups embody the same amount of public good. Other scholars have identified negative forms of social capital. Hibou (1999: 71) suggests that social capital is present in African states' informal, elite networks and suggests that corrupt governments utilise the covert nature of the continent's politics to plunder the state's resources. "It actually forms part of the informal state structure (or more accurately, of the ensemble formed by the formal state and its informal shadow) via a web of informal concessions, carefully negotiated privileges – notably including impunity for economic offences – and personal and political relationships" (ibid, 89).

Rubio (1997) has coined the term “Perverse Social Capital” to describe the kind of material rewards to be gained by belonging to a group such as the Mafia. Less high profile examples are more problematic. Widner and Mundt (1998) in their study of social capital in Africa found the classification of Ugandan drinking clubs a tricky task. During such sessions men would exchange ideas over a wide range of issues. However, unfortunately, the debates would often become heated, and could end up in violence (ibid, 13). As we shall see in Chapter 5, teachers engage in activities that exhibit both positive and perverse social capital.

Hirschman has developed two terms, ‘exit’ and ‘voice’, which can helpfully be used to describe the present situation in Tanzania (Hirschman, 1970). ‘Voice’ describes a situation whereby people decide to vocalise their opinion on particular issues in an attempt to alter current practice. It is based on a belief that they have political say in the running of things and presupposes a level of confidence in the ability of a particular institution - in our case the state – to listen and to be swayed. ‘Exit’, on the other hand, denotes a cynical view of one’s ability to alter the bigger picture. However, in some cases, ‘exit’ may be symptomatic of apathy.

As a group of professionals teachers have not just *exited* the classroom but have also chosen to *voice* their concerns. As such they are neither selfish incompetents nor passive victims of poor salaries, and have both collective and individual agency. It is possible to identify three kinds of strategy that teachers pursue when trying to improve their income.

The first strategy is the *public option* and is utilitarian in nature and characterised by high levels of Social Capital. Here teachers’ lives as social beings are harnessed as they seek to protect and better themselves by fostering links within the society. They may join a burial society to soften the financial shock of death or a credit society to obtain access to much needed loans. This kind of mutual co-operation is present throughout Tanzanian society and is not specific to teachers.

The second way in which teachers may advance themselves is also a collective strategy and shall be called for the purposes of this thesis the *professional option*. It is a strategy restricted to a shared participation in an occupation, and as such the notion of solidarity pegs out its territory within the broader societal ground of social capital. When teachers pursue this strategy, they try to improve their own economic position through improving the economic position of the profession as a whole. For the majority of Tanzanian government teachers, the principal forum through which they can voice their concerns is through the Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU). Here solidarity is built upon membership of a profession and shared terms and conditions of service. Though teachers in the school may have a face-to-face knowledge of each other, because TTU is a national movement, and represents teachers from the whole of mainland Tanzania, it needs to adopt certain bureaucratic features. Personal, familiar, day to day contact is not enough to ensure that money is used wisely and therefore everyday reciprocal obligations embedded in friendship, family, and neighbourliness are replaced by formal rules and regulations. Thus TTU has attempted to foster a sense of accountability by obtaining such things as a legal status, a constitution, a policy, a procedure by which members' contributions can be collected and a process by which representatives can be elected.

The third option, which shall be labelled the *private option*, is more informal, diverse, idiosyncratic and opportunistic. To put it simply, it is concerned with the advancement of personal/family income through a myriad of different activities. To describe adequately the contemporary situation within the Tanzanian educational system, as pertaining to teachers' economic existence, it is important not to privilege one strategy at the expense of the other. Teachers are neither spending all their waking hours engaged in private enterprise nor are they totally committing themselves to the advancement of the profession. Some teachers are pursuing all three strategies simultaneously and they may co-exist harmoniously.

Performance

Throughout the thesis performance is used in a specific dramaturgical sense,¹⁵ and is not meant to be a mere synonym for the usual indicators of educational quality such as pedagogical technique and examination results. The term refers to teachers' visibility in broader society, and the impression that they "give" and "give off" to the Tanzanian general public as they go about their daily routines.¹⁶ Moreover, it relates to the drama of a domestic conflict that exists between them and the Tanzanian State and how they have chosen to put on a deliberate act that makes the profession appear as miserable and as down-trodden as possible. The Tanzanian Teachers Union has become highly skilled at using public performance as a form of protest, and as we shall see in Chapter 4, it often sets its demands for improved terms and conditions of service to music.

Askew (2002) highlights the important role that performance plays in nation-building in countries with low levels of literacy like Tanzania,¹⁷ and argues that Swahili performance is used in Tanzania as a means of negotiating power relations between different factions in society.¹⁸ Askew's specific focus is on how performance is used to develop the nation rather than the state, and perhaps consequentially fails to pick up on

¹⁵ For a fuller description of the dramaturgical character of everyday life see Goffman, E. (1959) *The presentation of self in everyday life*, Penguin: London

¹⁶ Most adult members of the general public seldom enter a classroom and therefore judge teachers' behaviour on what their children tell them and what they see of teachers in the community. Though the daily timetable for other workers such as office staff or businessmen may not be known to them most people know when a teacher should be in school or not. It is therefore rather difficult for teachers to go about their daily business without being noticed.

¹⁷ At the time of this research illiteracy rates in Tanzania were climbing at a rate of 2% a year from a level of 16% in 1990 (Department for International Development, 1999: 2).

¹⁸ Trappes-Lomax has argued that Kiswahili is the legitimate language of "modernity" and change in Tanzania (1990:94). Ali and Alamin Mazrui in their (1995) work "*Swahili State and Society: The political economy of an African language*" contend that Swahili plays an important role in the process of integrating the Tanzanian population, a) horizontally into a larger society, and b) vertically into the apparatus of the state. "We define horizontal integration simply in terms of social communication and interaction across geographical and ethnic divisions of the society as a whole. We define vertical integration as a process of interaction between different strata of the society, especially between the elite and the masses" (1995: 68).

how these occasions have very often as much to do with the "distribution of patronage" and "inefficient bureaucracy" as genuine negotiation and illiteracy. She also underplays the simple opportunity for fun and the chance to "let off steam" that these performances present. All of this aside, I do find her argument compelling. Borrowing from Victor Turner (1974: 38) she describes (p.19) how a performance constitutes a "privileged site for invoking reflection" and how it can be seen as a social drama with 4 distinct phases. (1) a breach of social relations, (2) an escalation into crisis, when the parties involved position themselves as antagonists in relation to each other, (3) redressive action to resolve the crisis, and (4) either re-integration of the contending parties or schism.

Fieldwork

The research has changed a great deal since it was first conceived, and though it would be fraudulent to suggest that I was consciously engaged in 'grounded theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 & Dey, 1999) things nevertheless did emerge in the field. Qualitative research takes place at a given time and in a particular place (or places) and is embodied in the physical 'here' and the temporal 'now' (Berger & Luckman, 1966: 36). It is therefore an unrepeatable event that is based upon on the character of the researcher's interaction with topical events. No two researchers will ever witness the exact same incidents, have identical past histories, or apply the same interpretations to events. Taking this on board means that for the authenticity of the data to be accepted the interested parties need to know more than the simple fact that the researcher was there for a given period of time. I would therefore like to make explicit the choices that altered the focus of the study, and to give some autobiographical details that will help the reader identify the biases that characterise my own voice. Since the publication of *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) there has been growing awareness in Anthropological circles of the importance of the researcher's presence during fieldwork, and as I was very much a part of what was researched there is therefore no escape from a rather long reflexive digression.

Before leaving for Tanzania, I took some time to think about the sensitive nature of the study and how to project myself in the field. I wanted to choose a *modus operandi* that was congruent with teachers' *modus vivendi* and reflected my position. I also felt that teachers might be reluctant to talk to me. The subject of money is often an uncomfortable one, and their involvement in additional money making enterprises is restricted by their terms and conditions of service, "You (teachers) will not be able to undertake any other employment or activity for profit, without the written consent of your employer or in the case of private teaching without the consent of the Commissioner" (United Republic of Tanzania, 1990:94). The teaching of extra tuition classes for money in school buildings was also prohibited (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni*, 1988) and I was not at all sure how the teachers themselves would greet a study of their financial activities. It is difficult to disguise the fact that teachers have a vested interest in the promulgation of the myth that they depend solely upon their salaries, and I thought that they would be quick to recognise the threat that a more thorough understanding of their economic activities would pose. Moreover, I also anticipated that teachers might be suspicious that the government could use the findings as a justification for the shelving future pay increases, and be scared of the prospect of disciplinarian action from above.

Most importantly, I did not want to appear like a school inspector and tried to make my relationship with my informants as natural as possible. Indeed, it would not have been possible to make any headway if I had not started with an exploration of teachers' financial difficulties, and I spent a lot of time talking to teachers, listening to their problems, sharing in their everyday lives and trying to understand how the school operated. However, at no stage during my fieldwork did I enter an African classroom to observe a lesson. This was because I was interested in how teachers' economic position influenced the education system and the whole school experience rather than just the classroom. I also felt that if I did enter a classroom to observe a class it would be most likely that I would see a text book lesson and not what normally happened.

I decided to adopt an unthreatening persona and to play the fool by being as open and light hearted as possible, and humour and my knowledge of Swahili were two tools that I was able to utilise to help me explore these issues. Though I have received five weeks formal language training, my Swahili remains fluently inaccurate, and is like most things in this study more acquired through everyday use than consciously learnt. Indeed, it would have been impossible to even begin fieldwork of this kind without Swahili and a large amount of time was spent turning over in my own mind the meanings and derivations of certain words and phrases.

Such cultural sensitivity was a great help with my communications, and helped signpost my position in Tanzania as a friend and not as foe with a hidden agenda. By keying into the cultural notion of *utani* (joking relationship) that exists between ethnic groups, I was able to gain informal access to formal institutions, and to broach subjects in a light hearted manner which would have perhaps remained hidden if I had presented myself in a distant manner. If done with the right degree of sarcasm, relatives can say certain home truths about their in-laws which the complete outsider can not. *Utani* characterises a lot of the informal commentary of current *Bongo* politics, and is a language in which teachers are well versed. By providing a more fluid people based mode of communication, it is one of the very few "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1985) that aggrieved parties in Tanzania have at their disposal. Picking up on the advice of a senior teacher, it is a mode of criticism that I would like to carry over into the thesis.

Yes it is very sad what has happened and a lot of us feel very betrayed. Many of our leaders used to be teachers and now they don't care! Have you seen the *shangingis*¹⁹? They have a big behind like this (he then gestured the shape of a fat woman's bottom and blew a raspberry). What does that suggest? Have you thought about how to write this up? You have to be very brave to just come out and say these things and I don't think you are. I think you should use sarcasm (F/N, 19/10/2000).

¹⁹ *Shangingi* is a Swahili word for a very old experienced prostitute but is used here to refer to the expensive four wheel drive cars with large boots that members of parliament drive.

My past experience as a Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) teacher trainer in Kilimanjaro and marriage to a Tanzanian were two further things that I could draw upon to gain access to situations. Above all, I wanted to emphasise that I was a genuinely concerned co-professional and on their side. My familiarity with the Tanzanian context also equipped me feeling for the pace and flow of everyday life, and helped me gauge the appropriateness of possible methodologies. It also had provided me with an in-built buffer against the frustrations of broken appointments. On a most basic level, I thought that that as the focus of the study was of a sensitive nature, I would not have been able to employ quantitative techniques and was thus compelled to research teachers' involvement in the informal economy in an informal manner (MacGaffey & Bazenguissa-Ganga, 2000: 19). Indeed, Cooksey made the following methodological comment on his 1990 quantitative survey of Tanzanian primary and secondary school living and working conditions.

It is worth repeating the normal caveat that questionnaire techniques are of limited reliability in investigating sensitive issues which respondents may not wish to discuss with strangers. A number of sensitive issues were of interest to the research team, including the amount of time teachers spend performing professional tasks, and sources of income from extracurricular activities. Are teachers likely to tell the whole story on these issues? Had more time been available, it would have been useful to undertake one or more case studies using anthropological techniques and group discussions to delve more deeply into the lives and the communities in which they live (Cooksey, 1990: 5).

The approach is perhaps best summed up in the following field note when SM (Morogoro District Secretary of the Tanzania Teachers Union) and I dropped into the Morogoro Region's offices of the Institute of Adult Education. I had only intended to introduce myself and to try and arrange an interview with representatives of Morogoro Region's Teachers Resource Centre, however, it quickly evolved into an informal interview in which much valuable data which is utilised in this thesis was obtained. Immediately afterwards SM and I had the following conversation about how I had conducted myself. This slightly foolish approach matches my own personality, and the

presence of the following Swahili proverb gives cultural weight to my own *modus operandi*.

On the way out SM said, "So you couldn't get to see the Teachers' Resource Centre people, but you got information anyway". He laughed, "*Nafikiri utafaulo*" (I think you will succeed) and went on to explain that people will tell me things because of the way I go about it. He then told me a Swahili proverb, "*Mgeni njoo mwenjeji apone*" ("When the guest arrives the host recovers"). We went on to talk about its meaning, and he said that if you are jolly when you arrive, you are likely to be welcomed because you will entertain the host and he will forget his problems (F/N, 9/11/99).

Ethnography and Participant Observation

I decided that the more naturalistic method of ethnography would form the bedrock of the study. Though once synonymous with Anthropologists' study of bounded, primitive societies in far away places, ethnography is no longer guilty of painting a portrait of communities "hanging independently in space and time" (Agar, 1996: 4). The method is now widely used by social researchers of all disciplines to explore questions of interest in both the North and the South.²⁰ "New ethnography" pays much greater attention to history and politics and recognises that "communities don't have edges" and are "part of wider world" (ibid, 5). Ethnography has also been by used educationalists to explore relationships between school and society in Africa (Serpell, 1993 and Fuller, 1991). Hammersley and Atkinson in their introduction to ethnography give the following definition.

In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (1995: 1).

²⁰ The trend towards the use of ethnography by northern researchers to study their own societies is commonly referred to as "anthropology coming home".

Though the ethnographer may conduct structured formal interviews during the course of the fieldwork, and may even administer a questionnaire, the principal methods of data collection are most likely to be conversations with local informants, informal interviews, and participant observation. "Participant observation, that awkward term, simply codes the assumption that the raw material of ethnographic research lies out there in the daily activities of the people you are interested in, and the only way to access those activities is to establish relationships with people, participate with them in what they do, and observe what is going on" (Agar, 1996: 31). When the researcher is an outsider (as I was) the task of the participant observer is to "make the strange familiar" by trying to gain an understanding of how the subjects of the study (in my case Tanzanian teachers) view their lives. This is usually only achieved by "hanging out" in the community, participating in everyday activities, holding conversations, recording observations, and waiting for something significant to be said or happen which is germane to the study and difficult for the researcher to understand.

These surprising gaps in understanding are known as "*rich points*" (ibid, 31) and the job of the participant observer is to become competent enough in the culture to explain them. The Tanzania Teachers Union's performances at their meetings were particularly *rich points* for me, and I spent deal of time trying to translate their meaning. This was only achievable by a process of reflection, writing up, and discussions with key informants about the validity of my interpretations. The last stage is critical and invariably springboards the researcher to arrange to interview other key informants, attend more social or professional gatherings, and hunt for documents that support the interpretation.

Ethnographic data is usually first recorded in the form of on-the-spot jottings, and then later written up as fieldnotes. I wrote my fieldnotes in longhand in 28 exercise books. Ethnographic fieldwork requires the researcher to theorise in the field, and once a week I would place the data under analytical scrutiny. This would involve identifying themes, developing my interpretation of the themes, finding weaknesses in my analysis,

establishing my informants' (and my own) biases, highlighting inconsistencies and contradictions in the data, and identifying people to interview and literature to read.

Junker suggests that there are four theoretical social roles that a researcher can adopt when conducting ethnographic fieldwork; (1) complete participant, (2) participant as observer, (3) observer as participant, and (4) complete observer. The first two roles emphasise subjective meaning and comparative involvement in the activity being researched, while the latter two roles make a greater claim to objectivity and emphasise detachment from the issue being studied (Junker, 1966: 36, cited in Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 104). As I was neither a member of the Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU) nor a paid member of staff at my fieldsite school I was most frequently in the role of "observer as participant." However, there were a few occasions when I was able to break out of this role and gain a more experiential feeling for events. One such event was when I marched with TTU through the streets of Arusha.

Eventually we were all called to form a line in zones with each region's representatives grouped together. A school band had already passed and had taken up its position at the front of the parade...I stood surrounded by friends, OM in front, PN to my left, and SM, KM and AM behind. It felt strange as this was perhaps the first time I've been able to fully participate and I begged one of "our" delegation to snap a photograph (F/N 19/5/2000).

At other times I was forced into a more objective role. For example when it came to the district TTU elections²¹ Morogoro district's TTU secretary was most careful to ensure that I did not wander out of his view. By placing me at the front of the room he forced upon me the role of "pure observer" and challenged me with the question, "Where are you going?" when I tried to move my seat from this very conspicuous position (F/N, 23/2/2000).

²¹

See Chapter 4.

I also conducted participant observation in the environs of my fieldsite school in an attempt to gain an understanding of the everyday realities of teachers' lives. I remember conceptualising my data collection in the school to be a distinct phase of the research, and I had hoped that I would have been able to devote my efforts full-time to this activity for a number of months. Unfortunately, this proved not to be the case as frustrations with the Tanzanian educational system wore down my enthusiasm for the method. I too found (like many of the school's teaching establishment) it very hard to turn up at school on a regular basis. Things were particularly bad first thing in the morning, and whereas the performance component of TTU's activities had ensured that there was always something to observe, participant observation proved far less profitable within the school because of teachers' wholesale absenteeism. Indeed, some of my fieldnotes make very depressing reading and my entry for the 7th August, 2000 is typical of the kind of emotions I was feeling about my observations within the school.

As I write these notes, I feel very sad about how things have become...It is almost as if teachers are trying their hardest to deserve their low salaries, and to allow their professional standards to plummet as an act of despair. I'm not sure about the last sentence but what I am sure of is that the "school" seems to be pretty sick. Poor enrolment, rampant absenteeism, and a sense of nothing going on at all (F/N, 7/8/2000).

I have subsequently learnt that I am not alone in encountering such difficulties and Allsop has gone as far as to suggest that spending too long researching African secondary school classrooms, "could dumb the investigative spirit of even an intrepid researcher" (2004: 3). In the same paper, he bemoans the negative influence that teacher absenteeism has upon the research experience. "A big issue for researchers in African primary classrooms is that of identifying teachers to work with who can be pretty well guaranteed to turn up to their school and their classroom on a regular basis. Even then, there will be a myriad reasons why school doesn't happen five days per week for the specified number of weeks in the school year" (ibid, 4).

It is possible to extract from my negative experience of participant observation in my fieldsite school and Allsop's more general provocative comments on the worth of conducting classroom-based research a number of important methodological points that might help plot the future direction of qualitative research in African schools. Firstly, it would seem to me imperative that researchers in Africa consider the experiential side of their work and record and explore their emotional responses to their fieldsites. The fact that I felt so "sad" whilst conducting participant observation in the school was meaningful, and my emotions like the empirical information I collected required interpretation. It is essential when trying to interpret these emotions to be reflexive and to ask oneself whether your mood or physical well being is contributing to your negative feelings. Jenkins (1992) in his critical review of Bourdieu's body of work gives perhaps the most succinct definition of what is meant by *reflexivity*.

Central to the issues raised has been his insistence (Bourdieu's) upon reflexivity – the 'objectification of objectification' – as a necessary aspect of the research process. Only, if you like, by subjecting the practice of the researcher to the same critical and sceptical eye as the practice of the researched is it possible to aspire to conduct properly objective and 'scientific' research. Only by doing this is it possible to hope to understand social reality properly (ibid, 61).

Moreover, one's self interrogation should also explore whether there are factors in your own personal background that are shaping your response to a given situation. For example, one of the first things I did after experiencing such negative emotions on the 7th August 2000 was to cast my mind back to when I worked in Tanzania before, "Surely it wasn't that bad when I taught in Marangu? Though I'm sure that it was! I remember a lot of the frustrations now. Trying to get something done when everything seemed loaded against me, the amount of *sikukuu* (public holidays), and the almost complete lack of will on behalf of teachers to do anything about it" (F/N, 7/8/2000).²²

²² For a useful introduction on the influence personal background and past experience has on ethnographic research see, Agar, M. (1996) *The professional stranger: an informal introduction to ethnography*, Academic Press: London.

My emotions helped me open up new lines of enquiry as it was essential for me to ascertain whether my informants (in this case the teachers in the school) were feeling the same way as I was. Secondly, it was just as important to me to be cognisant of what I did not see as what I did see and to continue to record these absences, however, repetitive over a period of time. Thirdly, my observations did not interpret themselves and I felt it necessary to support the data derived from participant observations with additional evidence from formal/ informal oral interviews. Fourthly, despite the fact so little happened during my time in school a number of story-lines did emerge and I have chosen to include these inter-related “vignettes”²³ in Chapter 5 because they seem to have particular explanatory power.

It also seemed essential to me to attempt to discover as many of the “myriad reasons” for teachers’ absenteeism as possible. These reasons included some of the core themes of the thesis - low salaries, perennial hardships (such as late pay, poor housing, insufficient opportunities for further study, illness/death, and enforced government transfer), the pursuit of allowances, the amount of time-off that they had at their disposal, their involvement in additional money making enterprises, subaltern sentiment, and systemic problems within the education system that contributed to a laissez faire style of management.

Researching the Hidden

From one of my earliest formal interviews with the National Co-ordinator of Zanzibar and Pemba’s Teacher Resource Centres it became apparent that people said different things outside the interview-room to that which they said inside. After a glowing account of how Zanzibari community spirit motivates teachers to go to workshops at Teacher Resource Centres (TRCs) even though there is no funding available to pay for their attendance; “We broke up and sat outside chatting. I asked if they ever complained

²³ I have deliberately chosen not to use the “fragment” here as I am not making the post modern point that there is no single authoritative version of events but rather that events seem to point to there being a common background and shared school culture.

about the lack of money and he laughed and said, “Oh yes. *Wanasema mradi ni kavu!*” (“Oh yes. They say the project is dry!”). “Sometimes there is a need to use *utani* to keep them involved and a lot is spent in advocacy. We often joke that “*ukilipa zaidi TRC itakulipia zaidi*” (“If you pay more the TRC will pay you more”)” (F/N, 19/10/1999).

I concluded from my experience in Zanzibar that it was important to record and compare and contrast both discourses, and to pay as much attention to events surrounding an interview as the interview itself. This desire to compare and contrast what was officially said in formal interview with what was said outside became a research habit of mine and was extended to other research situations, such as formal meetings, where it was important to have a grasp of the power dynamics at play. An analytical framework to understanding how weaker individuals in society moderate what they say in front of powerful people is developed in James Scott’s 1990 work *Domination and Art of Resistance*. Here he uses the terms “public” and “hidden” transcripts to illustrate the differences between what happens “on-stage” and “back-stage”.

If subordinate discourse in the presence of the dominant is a public transcript, I shall use the term *hidden transcript* to characterize discourse that takes place “off stage,” beyond direct observation by powerholders. The hidden transcript is thus derivative in the sense that it consists of those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript. We do not wish to prejudge, by definition, the relation between what is said in the face of power and what is said behind its back. Power relations are not, alas, so straightforward that we can call what is said in power-laden contexts false and what is said offstage true. Nor can we simplistically describe the former as a realm of necessity and the latter as a realm of freedom. What is certainly the case, however, is that the hidden transcript is produced for a different audience and under different constraints of power than the public transcript. By assessing the discrepancy between the hidden transcript and the public transcript we may begin to judge the impact of domination on public discourse (Scott, 1990:4-5).

By deliberately presenting myself as a fool I was able to distance myself from authority and hence gain access to deviant spaces. I deliberately chose to inhabit those nooks and crannies of the educational system where I felt I might find either an allowance or an

additional source of income. This also had the added advantage of allowing me to get “off stage” and take a look behind the political rhetoric. This fragment from my field notes taken during the visit of Mary Mushi, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), shows how Scott’s framework acted as a guiding light during my data collection.

The dinner wasn’t much to write home about. The ‘leaders’ of Morogoro education sat in the middle of the hall whilst the invited guests sat on a raised platform some distance from the rest of us. Spatially and symbolically at no stage did any of them get off their platform to speak with the rest of us. While we cued for our food they got their food served up there. The parody of this came when it came to the end of the dinner when the Chief Zonal Inspector got up and gave a speech. During which she said, “Morogoro is getting a reputation for holding these kind of events” (referring to the government going out to meet the people). I turned to the guy next to me (the treasurer for TTU Morogoro region) and whispered, “*Siyo kwa sababu posho ya kujikimu*” (“It’s not because of subsistence allowance”). He burst into a fit of laughter. Spluttered his beer everywhere – as he was a little bit drunk – and nearly fell off his chair. Everybody turned around to look at us as I was sat at the back playing the deviant kid. The Head gave me a wilting stare. Humour as verbal graffiti. Humour used as a confirmation of the reality of the situation that really can not be expressed in any other way. Humour as an act of resistance. Humour used to reveal the hidden transcript. I spent most of the time smoking outside trying in vain to find a deviant space to inhabit. It didn’t really happen (F/N 2/6/2000).

This “foolish approach” was particularly useful in the early days of data collection (as I held no uncomfortable knowledge of passed events or teachers’ behaviour), and helped me strike up relationships and gain access to organisations. As the following account of my first day in Morogoro reveals.

I got into Morogoro at around 6.15. last night (after receiving my research permit yesterday morning at 10 am) and booked myself into the New Savoy hotel on station Rd. I went to bed early and rose at about six. I had intended to go straight up to the Teachers College, however, when I got out of the hotel I noticed that there was a *Chama cha Walimu Tanzania* (CWT)²⁴ office just

²⁴

Chama cha Walimu Tanzania is the Swahili name for the Tanzania Teachers Union.

up the road next to the King Tom club and I decided to pay a visit. Whilst in Scotland, I had realised that the Union would be an organisation that I would need to contact but my recollections of it had been that it was fairly powerless and had not by that time earned the support of the teachers. Indeed I remember '*Msema Kweli*' ("one who speaks the truth") saying that they were only out for themselves. However, things had changed in the time that I had been away and I had been told by one of my Swahili teachers that TTU had been very active in the campaign to raise teachers' salaries...For these reasons I decided to pay a social call. The opportunistic discovery of the office, and the on the spot decision to enter, proved to be very helpful. On entering the Morogoro Rural District Secretary's office I introduced myself and showed him my rather limited paper work. I was apologetic and the guy laughed and asked me where I had learnt my Swahili. I told him that I had been a teacher at Marangu. This proved to be an 'open sesame' for me. I was then ushered into the Regional Secretary's office – an elderly Chagga from Marangu. And we instantly hit it off. I told him that I was married to a Chagga, and he called me *shemejie* (brother in law) and said '*Mchagga huyu*' ("He is a Chagga"). He asked if I had been down to see the Regional Educational Officer and he instantly rang up to see if I could come round. A car was arranged and we drove down (F/N, 26/10/1999).

This chance encounter with the Union led me to become sceptical about my proposed methodology. I soon realised that my research design had been poorly conceptualised and that I had not yet sorted out in my own mind the exact focus of the research. The first conclusion drawn from this relates to the strikingly simple fact that a study of teachers' (who already have a formal sector job) involvement in additional money making enterprises is not the same as a study of a group of unemployed people's (those without a formal sector job) involvement in the informal economy. Thus in order to carry out a study of what is commonly known as 'moonlighting', I had to examine (a) the first or primary job, and (b) the secondary financial activities, together, as to look at either (a) or (b) in isolation would mean that I would not be looking into moonlighting at all but into something different. Moreover, the researcher has also recognised that what is of most interest is not the different kinds of activities conducted by teachers but the interplay between the two types of financial activity.

As a means of understanding the national picture, strong links were built up with Tanzanian Teachers Union (TTU) and I was fortunate to have been given very privileged access to their activities and documentation. Furthermore, they collectively provided me with a blow by blow account of the history of teachers' conditions of service in Tanzania since before independence, and have patiently answered my often rather ignorant questions. Moreover, they have explained to me their current concerns and their objectives for the future and have been very honest about their strengths and weaknesses. As such they have acted as my guides through the educational maze and have made me aware of a political discourse between TTU and the government that has been shaped by conflict.

I was a frequent visitor to their national Headquarters in Dar es Salaam and the only *mzungu* (white person) present at the TTU's 2000 elections at branch, district, regional and national levels. All of this has challenged my objectivity, and It was essential to determine whether TTU is (as the title of its magazine suggests)²⁵ the voice of Tanzanian teachers. Though it is a very democratic organisation I am aware that it constantly runs the risk of being domesticated or becoming "too sweet" (Swai, 2000).

Research Ethics

Though teachers were only too ready to tell me about their perennial problems, some were less forthcoming when it came to talking about their income generating projects. An example of this occurred on the 28th August, 2000 whilst I was talking to one teacher (a father of four, married to a wife who was unemployed) in the school canteen. "How big do you think your salary should be?" I asked. After totalling up his expenses for a month (Sh 75,000 for food, Sh 15,000 for rent, Sh 18,000 for petrol for his moped, Sh 20,000 for medicine and treatment, plus more for the cost of electricity, water and his children's education) he came to a total of Sh 200,000. A figure which was more than

²⁵ See Chama cha Walimu Tanzania (CWT) *Sauti ya mwalimu* Vol. 1, No 1. November 1998. (Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU) *Tanzania teacher's voice*, Vol. 1, No 1. November 1998).

twice his salary. I then asked, "How do you survive then? Do you have other businesses?" His reply was absolute, "No. I have nothing" (F/N 28/8/2000).

Clearly, his answers were not entirely truthful as he had exaggerated his costs and concealed some source(s) of income.²⁶ Such partial disclosure is part and parcel of the communicative component of voice and demonstrates my difficulty in obtaining oral testament to teachers' own involvement in extra businesses. Some teachers were more forthcoming. However, I soon realised that I was unlikely ever to gain complete coverage of teachers' income generating activities. At first I was upset by this but became more comfortable with the process as I soon realised that it helped protect their anonymity, and led to a movement away from thinking in terms of cases to trying to understand in more detail a number of core themes. As it was always possible to come across teachers conducting their businesses *in flagrante* I found that I was still able to piece together a picture of teachers' income generating activities. This meant that I was left with the problem of trying to mediate between three different types of knowledge, (a) that which can be voiced and therefore is consciously known, (b) that which is consciously known but deliberately concealed or hidden, and (c) that which is tacit in teachers' behaviour but not consciously recognised.²⁷

As controversial data frequently came to light, I have decided to use invented abbreviations instead of proper names throughout the thesis as a means of protecting my sources. In some elite cases, however, where the identity of the individual is difficult to hide, I have chosen to drop the pretence and to use the full name instead. This means that in the list of formal interviews at the end of the bibliography I have chosen to give the date of the interview and the interviewee's title, but not their full names or initials. This rule does not apply for the formal interviews of well known national elite. However, at times during the research I held informal conversations with senior TTU

²⁶ In the same way my questions were rather naïve, typical of the worst kind of novice researcher.

representatives and local government officials during which valuable, but controversial information was passed. When referring to this kind of data I have chosen to merely quote the date of my fieldnote entry.

In the next chapter, we shall explore the deep antecedents to contemporary Tanzanian teachers' lot, and the country's deep, structural notions of work and patterns of economic organisation. A long-term historical perspective is taken and the chapter chronicles the development of formal employment and organised labour from its early prototype beginnings in the pre-colonial slave trade to the introduction of multiparty democracy in the early 1990s.

Chapter Three discusses the short-term historical factors that led to the 1993/4 national teachers strike and establishment of the Tanzania Teachers Union. The emphasis is on teacher politics and the Tanzania Teachers Union's struggle to find a competent national leadership, capable of representing its membership's rights and improving teachers pay and conditions of service.

Chapter Four evaluates the Union's performance and programmes, and provides a discussion of TTU's 2000 elections at branch, district, region and national level. The chapter also evaluates TTU's constitution, structure, and membership and special emphasis is given to the use of performance as a form of negotiation.

In Chapter Five the focus shifts from TTU's performance to teacher performance, and the life of a single secondary school in Morogoro is recreated. The chapter foregrounds the school's cultural background, and discusses the specific social and economic function that the school fulfils in teachers' lives. Here the focus is upon the issues of

²⁷ At the end of an informal interview in a bar one my key informants said "Your questions are very difficult and I have to stop and think why I do that. It's like you are asking me how I breathe" (F/N 28/7/2000).

teacher absenteeism, their involvement in additional money making enterprises and the controversial practice of extra tuition.

In Chapter Six I present my general conclusions and evaluate my research methodology. The chapter provides a brief discussion of how things might have changed in Tanzania since my departure in 2000.

Chapter Two

“Deep Structures”

States are a fabric of ordered tension between ‘a variety of competing forms of authority’, each with different myths of legitimacy and principles of allegiance. Successive pragmatic rules of power which become norms, new layers of institutions to cope with new problems, get written into the historical structure, partially rubbed out and written over again, so that...nothing quite fits (Lonsdale, 1981:154, cited in Askew, 2002:5-6).²⁸

In this chapter, I will review the history of Tanzanian teachers’ status in society, and that of their representation through professional associations, and formal trade unions, in the years leading up to the National Teachers’ Strike of 1993/1994. I will attempt to explain why teachers felt so angry during Mashanga’s meeting with President Mwinyi described in the prologue and what the leader of the strike meant when he said that “It is high time we stomached no more hollow and empty promises” (Mashanga, 1993: 2). The period under discussion starts in pre-colonial times and covers the development of formal employment from its early beginnings in the slave trade, right up to the early 1990s. Running contiguous to this history of organised labour is a review of a more fragmented and private past that highlights workers’ long enduring involvement in traditional forms of economic activity. My aim in writing this revisionist history is not to reverse the image of teachers’ elite position in society by turning them into the poorest of the poor but to instead provide a more nuanced interpretation of the profession that emphasises the fact that there has always been a tinge of blue in the teacher’s collar.

²⁸ The quotation relates to the post-colonial concept of a ‘palimpsest’. “Originally the term for a parchment on which several inscriptions had been made after earlier ones had been erased. The characteristic of the palimpsest is that, despite such erasures, there are always traces of previous inscriptions that have been ‘overwritten’. Hence the term has become particularly valuable for suggesting the ways in which the traces of earlier ‘inscriptions’ remain as a continual feature of the ‘text’ of culture, giving it a particular density and character” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2000: 174).

The Precolonial Period

Although formal employment as we know it today did not appear in Tanzania until after the Berlin Conference of 1884-5, it would be remiss of any study of labour to leave out the greater bulk of its history. The precolonial period not only provides a baseline from which we can judge the impact of colonialism and all subsequent development (Koponen, 1988: 19), but also describes the background out of which the first workers emerged. Though not unchanging, centuries of economic organisation had created certain ways of doing things that were not based upon the primary objective of making profit.

Hyden has famously described the precolonial way of organising economic life as an "economy of affection", in which, "ties based on common descent, common residence, etc., prevail"(1980: 18). The use of language here perhaps overestimates the familial side of economic organisation for different kinds of exploitation did occur and under the *cortège* system group members would exchange their labour on a chief's land for beer and protection (Iliffe, 1979: 277). However, what is clear is that life was primarily organised upon social networks. Each ethnic group would have its own system of agriculture and would adopt "their survival strategies on the basis of the specific ecological niche inhabited and exploited by them" (Kjekshus, 1996: xxii). When necessary the group's representatives would obtain the shortfall in their needs by meeting with members from other groups, who in turn inhabited their own niche market (*ibid*). Koponen is at pains here to stress that this form of exchange was not real trade because goods were not transported over a distance to be sold for a profit. Rather it was a form of marketing in which two kinds of goods, 'subsistence' and 'prestige', would be circulated within distinct spheres (Koponen, 1988: 109).

The first group of precolonial Tanzanians who we can think of as having an employer in any meaningful sense were porters engaged in the long distance trade of slave and ivory. Due to the predominance of Tsetse fly in the region, it was impossible to use horse-drawn

carriages, and the all loads were moved by human energy. Stanley described the porter as “the camel, horse, mule, ass, train, wagon and cart” of East Africa (cited in Koponen, 1988: 111) and huge numbers of them were employed throughout the 19th century, and well into the 20th century. The best available source on portering comes from the explorer, Richard Burton’s, 1860 work *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*. It is worth spending some time examining his observations, as porters not only represented a physical link between two worlds, but also straddled two systems of economic exchange. It is not surprising therefore that their modalities of pay would borrow from both arcane tradition and modern capitalism to create a hybrid variant, which was to remain a standard component of workers’ pay for decades to come.

In the absence of a legal framework, labour relations were governed by custom (Burton, 1960: 111), and three kinds of caravan made the journey to and from the coast. The first consisted solely of Nyamwezi porters from Tabora who considered portering “a test of manliness” (ibid, 235) and seldom deserted. The second were run by Waswahili free men from the coast, whilst the third had an Arab owner and were, “known by their superior conditions; they eat much more, work much less, and give far greater trouble to their commanders” (p.238). On taking up employment, each potential worker “bargained over his engagement to the utmost end” (p. 235) but those who had undertaken the trip to the coast before would receive a better deal. Full payment was higher on the trip down to the coast than on the way back up (p.236) and Burton records that by 1857, a Nyamwezi porter would receive between 10 and 12 dollars for the journey, coloured cloths, brass wires, and the pigeon’s egg bead called Sumomaji (p.236). However, it was held from them until the trip’s successful completion. As well as their loads they would carry with them their rations of grain or sweet potatoes, and their daily *posho* (allowance) of beads, cloth, and wire (p.238). The latter was used to barter with the people of the route, and after its daily distribution was collected from them to prevent desertion.

Until the gangs have left their homes far behind, their presence seems to hang by a thread; at the least pretext they pack up their goods and vanish in a mass...When approaching their settlements their cloth and wire are taken

from them, packed in their employer's bales, and guarded by armed slaves, especially at night...(Burton, 1960: 235).

The German Colonial Period

The first German colonialists were confronted with the challenge of how to turn a loose collection of interlocking subsistence economies into a viable economic enterprise. This was an immense task, and contradictory to the popular perception of their rule, one the imperialist power failed to meet. Most of their early attempts at exploitation were unsuccessful, and what gains were made were largely rolled back by the devastation of World War One. In 1885, Chancellor Bismarck gave a free hand to the German East Africa Company, *Deutch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (DOAG), to buy land and begin the process of extracting a profit (Koponen, 1994:72). DOAG was illprepared for the task and could only place 56 men in the whole colony by 1888 (ibid, 78). These were confined to the coast which was to become a hotbed of insurrection after Abushiri bin Salim led a group of African and Swahili in a violent rebellion over the granting of DOAG trading rights to the northern coastal strip by the Sultan of Zanzibar (pp. 80-81). The Abushiri revolt almost bankrupted the DOAG and took German soldiers over two years to quell. Once an uneasy peace was restored in 1891, the first Governor of German East Africa, Julius von Soden, took over the running of the colony from DOAG (ibid, 99).

Soden was an able bureaucrat and recognised that the new administration would need a small cadre of African clerks to run the colony. Worried that the already established mission schools would wish to keep their best students for themselves and leave the government with the "rubbish" (cited in ibid, 504), he managed to obtain funds from the German Colonial Society to set up the country's first government school in Tanga in 1892. He was able to staff the school with one expatriate German Headmaster, who was paid 6,000, Marks a year (p.505). What mission products were available were on not such a good deal, and entered the 'profession' with a monthly salary of one rupee a

month. This was raised each year by a single rupee until they were accorded the status of a qualified teacher and paid twelve rupees a month (Hirji, 1979). This was only just equivalent to the late 1880s normal rate of between 10 to 12 rupees for a month's portage (Koponen, 1994: 343). Schooling seemed to be universally unpopular throughout the colony, with missions having to bribe children to attend with sweets and food (ibid, 504) while the less than ideal terms and conditions of service meant that many African teachers too played truant. "In some places, even African teachers who were found to be absent from duty were thrashed" (Hirji, 1979: 211). However, the popularity of schooling was soon to improve, as by 1900 there were approximately 50,000 pupils in mission education (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 53).

A far larger problem for the colonial authorities than the creation of African administrators was finding them something to administer. German East Africa was simply not proving profitable and Soden and his successors were of the consensus that the problem lay with the African's inherent laziness. Burton had first put forward the notion that Mother Nature through the "abundance of her gifts" had provided Africans with everything that they required and had taken away from them any desire to improve their position (Burton, 1860: 328, cited in Koponen, 1994: 324). In order to counter this "lack of want", the African had to be "educated for work" and the government set about putting in place measures that would force them to produce a surplus and pull them into the wider capitalist economy. "One way to prod Africans into working for colonial purposes was to tax them" (ibid, 215). In 1897, an annual hut tax of 6-12 rupees in the towns, and three rupees in the countryside was introduced (p.216). Collection began in 1898 and proved very difficult up-country as many people would either hide out in the bush or pay in kind (p.218). It was difficult to store agricultural produce at the *boma* and the authorities accelerated their attempts to establish a uniform standard of currency across the territory. 1902 saw the minting of the East African Rupee (p.185), but despite efforts to increase its circulation by establishing cash only shops and markets around government stations, a wide array of different currencies and barter continued to flourish

(p.343). Resistance to taxation was a significant factor behind the 1905-1906 *Maji Maji* rebellion.²⁹

Also unpopular had been the system adopted in the late 1890s under which settlers in Usambara were allocated villages from which their headmen selected labour for the farms (Iliffe, 1979: 281). The policy had been greatly abused and was banned in 1904. Things were to change still further when Albrecht von Rechenberg became the new governor after the bloody suppression of *Maji Maji*. Taking a fresh approach to the labour question, he swiftly came to the conclusion that forced labour would only create an unproductive labour force. Arguing that the correct policy would need to strike a balance between wages and agricultural cultivation, it was his opinion that African workers should receive better pay and work on short term contracts allowing them time to tend to their own crops (Koponen, 1994: 371). In 1907, the Wasambaa were obliged to work for a European for a total of 30 days out of every four months, and were issued with a *Kipande* (card) which they had to have stamped after each day's labour (Iliffe, 1979: 281). In 1909, Rechenberg's principles for economic development became entrenched in law when statutes for labour made it compulsory for employers to be licensed, and restricted the length of working contract to seven months (Koponen, 1994: 372). Moreover, new generous conditions of pay meant that *Posho* (allowances) had to be paid for all rest days, and as a result employment on settler plantations jumped from 32,500 in 1909 to 57,500 by 1911 (ibid: 374). All these advancements were to be set back with the start of the First World War.

British Colonial Rule

Rodney has argued forcefully that the interwar years were a "period of intense suffering" (1979: 142). Though this is for the most part true, it would also be fair to say that the change of colonial masters created its own winners and losers, and provided hitherto unheard of opportunities for a lucky few. More pertinently, the first leaders of organised

²⁹ The rebellion acquired the name *Maji Maji* from the belief that the Kinjikitile Ngware had in his

labour emerged from those Africans engaged in employment in the early British bureaucracy, and many of them were either practising teachers, or had at some time spent a spell in the profession. Their efforts at forming associations were to represent in embryonic form the start of Tanzanian trade unionism. For those more versed in the history of Western labour relations, it is useful to hold in mind that in the absence of a strong industrial sector, the spread of trade unionism in Tanzania followed a very different course.

British labour organisation, for example, began in skilled trades and led through factory workers and transport industries to the service sector and finally to white collar-worker workers and civil servants. Tanganyika's sequence was almost exactly the reverse, beginning with civil servants and moving to service and transport sectors to reach industrial workers in the 1950s. Consequently, Tanganyika's first labour organisations were in occupations especially difficult to organise, for it is easier to unionise a factory than scattered motor drivers. This gave the labour movement a distinctive character and explained many early difficulties (Iliffe, 1979: 396).

One of the British administration's major concerns from the outset was the political loyalties of the previous administration's African employees, and though they took on many of the old German-trained clerks, they "were reluctant to entrust them with responsibility" (Coulson, 1982:84). To counter German influence, Tabora School was opened in 1924, on very much the same basis as Tanga School had been in 1892. Before the first crop of "anglophile" clerks could be harvested, the British had first to fill up the vacant posts. Products from the Anglican Missionary school at Kiungani, Zanzibar, and from throughout the British colonies of East Africa, took advantage of their language skills and lack of association with the German regime and quickly established a niche for themselves in the new bureaucracy. It was out of this new influx of skilled personnel that the first black African workers' association, "The Tanganyika Territory African Civil Services Association" (TTACSA), was formed by Martin Kayamba in Tanga on the 24th March, 1922 (Iliffe, 1973: 73). A Kiungani old boy, Kayamba had viewed his employment at the Zanzibar school as a mark of failure and had resigned his post in 1913

possession magic water that would protect *maji maji* fighters from German bullets.

because, as he put it, in November 1932, "I thought I needed more money to better my prospects" (cited in Iliffe, 1973: 71). To his eyes at least, teaching was even then a poor second to private business. Unfortunately for him, things would get worse before they got better, as he was arrested by the Germans in January 1915 for his British connections, and spent much of the war imprisoned, working as a hospital assistant in Tabora.

TTACSA had what might appear very modest aims by today's terms and pulled up a long way short of the objectives of a trade union. Though essentially an elitist organisation designed to provide a meeting place for educated men, its establishment did mark a significant advance in the degree of workers' organisation and was to father spin-off groups with more overt political agendas. The exact aims were, (i) to initiate fellowship of all African and Arab members of this Government, (ii) to promote social and educational development among its members, (iii) to foster the welfare of its members in the various Government departments, and (iv) to encourage its members to take an active part in sports etc. (Cited in Iliffe, 1973: 72).

In 1924, a group of educated Bahaya formed the Bukoba Bahaya Union (ibid, 74), and a branch of TTACSA soon began to meet in Dar es Salaam. A founding member of the Dar es Salaam branch was Cecil Matola, the highest ranking African teacher at Dar es Salaam's government school, and he in conjunction with other TTACSA members (including the Tanga trained teacher, Mdachi Sharifu) formed in 1929 the African Association (AA), the forerunner to the current ruling party. The AA had the overt goal of raising political awareness, but the enthusiasm of its members soon waned and the organisation met with a premature death, as the country was to experience the effects of the Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression. Coming at a time when the colonial economy was only just beginning to get back on its feet after World War One, the depression years "were almost certainly the worst" years that Tanzanian workers had experienced to date (Iliffe, 1979: 287). *Kipande* workers saw their wages drop from a high of between 18 and 36 shillings a task in 1930, to as low as 10 or 12 shillings by

1939 (Rodney, 1979: 149), and “many Tanganyikan wage earners returned to the land” (ibid, 130).

The situation was no better for white-collar workers as the Government was forced to cut back on expenditure. During the period from 1931 to 1938 the education budget dropped from £122, 666 to £97,862 (Iliffe, 1979: 354) and the Education Department was forced to retrench many workers. In “1932 the vacant directorship remained purposely unfilled (an extraordinary economy)” (Furley & Watson, 1966: 490). Those who kept their posts made by as best they could with all the Native Authority schools on Kilimanjaro, for example, keeping gardens (Iliffe, 1979: 477). Though it was decided that all Native Authority schools should be considered as government schools in 1933, financial restrictions dictated that the exact details of the deal were not hammered out until 1937.

It was agreed that the Government should train and supply the teachers, provide teaching materials, pay all transport costs, and be responsible for inspection and supervision. The native authorities would build, furnish, and maintain the schools and teachers’ houses as well as pay boarding costs and teachers’ salaries (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 66).

It is not surprising that little genuine advance in workers’ rights was achieved at this time, and even though the Trade Union Ordinance of 1932 provided legislation for the registration of trade unions very few were actually set up. Two which were established were the Union of Shop Assistants in 1933, and the Asiatic Labour Union of Sikh Carpenters (Iliffe, 1979: 290). The Ordinance has to be seen in the light of the prevailing economic climate, and the attitude that the “detrified” African worker in the cities was viewed as a potential political threat (Coulson, 1982: 71) meant that it became something of a “straightjacket for labour” (Tumbo et al, 1977: vii). Rather than encouraging workers’ representation the Ordinance was used to discourage bogus trade unions which were seen as bodies, “organised by two or three semi-educated people ostensibly to promote the benefits of the subscribers but primarily to provide salaries for the organiser” (ibid, xiii). Thus with the ordinance we see not just the start of trade unionism but also the first government attempts to control.

Though the first Tanzanian workers' organisations began to appear in the country during the inter-war years, it was not until the unfortunate interjection of World War Two that they were able to organise wide-scale industrial action as "workers' took to unionism with vigor" and "a spirit of militancy, independence and conflict" (Friedland, 1969: 1). Part of the cause for Tanzanians' enthusiasm for unionism was a growing call for independence and in the immediate post war years it was difficult to distinguish genuine union concerns from those of the country's nascent political party, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). Common cause was based upon opposition to the racial discrimination that permeated all spheres of public life from schooling up to the workplace and high political office. It was therefore not surprising that the first leaders of the independence movement were those already in employment and who had glimpsed through their educational background an image of a more equitable world. The German and British needs for an indigenous bureaucratic class had created "a pool of potential qualified nationalists who came to challenge the colonial presence itself" (Mazrui, 1979: 1) and through travel and study abroad these educated Tanzanians had come into contact with "European 'national histories' " (Anderson, 1991: 118).

It would be wrong to suggest that it was just the educated elite who took an interest in politics and union action as wartime shortages and the increased competition in the job market aroused by the influx to Dar es Salaam of unemployed labour provided a catalyst for industrial action. Between 1939 and 1948, the city's population rose from 25,000 to 69,227 (Illiffe, 1979: 291), and as the depression continued, some branches of the workforce found the capacity to organise, and sought to protect their precarious position in employment from the new arrivals. "It is difficult to appreciate just how dreadful a place Dar es Salaam was in this period" (Illiffe, 1975: 54). Between twenty and twenty five thousand Africans were crushed into three thousand two hundred shantytown dwellings, and twenty five per cent of the six thousand work force were unemployed at any given time (ibid). Despite these obvious difficult conditions, the dockworkers were particularly militant at the time, striking first in 1937, and again in 1939 and 1947.

White-collar workers were also feeling the pinch, as since its start prices had nearly doubled (ibid, 353), and wages had fallen dramatically in real terms. A 1942 report into the wages and cost of living of low grade African government employees had concluded that “some 87% of government employees in Dar es Salaam are in receipt of a wage on which they can not possibly subsist without getting into debt” (TNA, 30598/15, cited in Iliffe, 1979:394). In response, a meeting of government teachers from Dar es Salaam and Mpwapwa was held between 28th July and 4th August 1942 during which it was agreed that there was a need to set up an association. The 6th August the following year saw the establishment of the Tanganyika African Teachers’ Association (TATA) with Paul Mwanyipembe and George Madachi chosen to fill the senior positions (*Chama cha Walimu Tanzania* (CWT), 1997: 4). Though only catering for the needs of black government teachers, TATA had a membership of 210 by the end of 1944 distributed throughout 35 branches (Iliffe, 1979: 289), and campaigned for the establishment of a scheme of service, housing, holidays and opportunities for further education (CWT, 1997 :4).

Teachers were also at the forefront in the setting up of a number of local associations. In some cases, membership of these organisations was restricted to those who shared a similar employer and merely formed a forum for mission teachers to voice their concerns. The need for financial assistance was particularly great for those working in German-ran church schools, as the arrest of German missionaries in 1939 had meant that their pay was unreliable and that local cost sharing arrangements had to be introduced (Iliffe, 1979: 394). One practice which had become common amongst Muslim teachers, and was no doubt also used by Christians was that of *ufito*³⁰ – the giving of a gift in kind or money by a father to a teacher on his child’s first day a school (Gallagher, 1971: 172). Gallagher’s work on the Ndendeuli of Southern Tanzania also revealed that students often worked on

³⁰ *Ufito* is the Kiswahili word for a walking stick and no doubt was a welcome aid for many teachers. Though my own field data supplied some evidence that parents today still give teachers presents, it was usually just called a *zawadi* (present). It could be that the term has specific religious or geographical usage, or that the term has merely dropped out of fashion.

teachers' *shambas*, and that an additional gift was also given at the end of a child's schooling (ibid, 173).

In other cases, the organisations had a wider political agenda, and members of the profession were able to wed their traditional authority as sons of chiefs and other local dignitaries to their relative wealth and the power given to them by their books. In 1945, eighteen teachers and artisans set up the Sukuma Union under the leadership of the Makerere trained Henry Changula (Iliffe, 1979: 487). Similarly, the Bondei Central Union also boasted teachers and traders among its founding members (ibid, 489) whilst the Pare Union founded in 1946 had a civil servant, Samuel Mshote, as leader (p.495). The fact that many of these organisations had traders, teachers, and civil servants as leaders was no accident, and hides the reality that many formal sector employees were also progressive businessmen.

Von Freyhold (1979) has shown in her study of village politics in the coastal region around Tanga how a stratum of progressive farmers emerged during the colonial period. Borrowing from the Soviet Union she uses the term the Kulak to describe "a type of rural capitalist who hires labour on his farm and who is also a businessman" (ibid, 420). She explains how by the clever investment of money from the formal sector job, and through their wider personal connections, many employees were able to escape the poverty-trap by paying for expensive fertilisers and finding a foothold in the distribution chain. This process would give employees additional standing in their local community to that acquired from their work titles, and would tie in all manner of clients into a system of patronage. If the evidence before the World War Two suggests that black African teachers were engaged in agriculture as a means of survival, this shows that in the comparative prosperity of the 1940s some members of the profession were exhibiting true entrepreneurial spirit. Though Von Freyhold does not make the point herself, it would seem probable in the light of recent hardships that they would not wait to retirement before diversifying their sources of the income.

Personal differences played a big part in people's ability to get on and in their own aspirations for the future. Goldthorpe (1965) in his study of Makerere College Students from 1922 to 1960, highlighted the difficulties many graduates experienced when they were posted outside their home area and had to "incur the cost of running two homes" (ibid: 69). His final conclusion on the matter is as true today as it was then, "Thus an educated African's aim, in most cases, is to acquire some land, if he has not already got some, and to build a house on it" (ibid).

1944 also saw the revival of the African Association in the form of the Tanganyika African Government Servants Association (TAGSA) (Iliffe, 1979: 289). Orchestrating around the inability of their wages to keep up with inflation, TAGSA had established twenty branches by 1945. The end of wartime austerity saw the decline of TAGSA, but it was soon to resurface as a more political organisation in the early 1950s in the guise of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). Before this was to happen, however, blue and white-collar workers were to come together in 1949 in the country's first National Strike.

On the 23rd August, dockworkers in Dar es Salaam refused to work unless the daily casual rate was raised from Sh.2.30 to Sh.5.00, and a general wage of Sh.100 per month was introduced for skilled workers (Iliffe, 1975: 62). This was significantly more than the Labour Department was prepared to pay. The government soon had a major problem on its hands, as first the city's casual workers, and then skilled artisans and civil servants joined the industrial action (ibid, 63). Following a pattern that we will see repeated afterwards in the 1993-1994 Teachers' Strike, industrial action soon spread into the hinterland along the country's communication links, only to be met with swift and heavy handed government response. Workers in Morogoro, Dodoma, and Tabora joined the strike on the 11th September, and the first case of formalised strike action by Tanganyikan teachers occurred when, on the 13th, African teachers at the two government schools in Tabora went out in sympathy. The strike was soon over in Dar es Salaam as "Lorries with police protection moved into the African town to transport those who were prepared

to work, and that evening the government warned African civil servants - among whom the strike was widespread - that anyone who did not return to work on the morning of Monday, 15th, would be dismissed" (ibid, 63). However, it was to gain momentum in the hinterland, as Kigoma's railway clerks joined, and Mwanza's dockworkers incited other workers to stone the town's Barclay's Bank (p.64).

Things eventually calmed after the government set up a tribunal to look into the dockers' demands. The tribunal's verdict marked a landmark victory for organised labour, and introduced not just generous wage increases but regular free meals, free hospital treatment and a special bonus for any docker working more than twenty days in a month (ibid, 24). For a while at least, the British adopted a more constructive dialogue, with a Labour Department official, Hamilton, helping to establish the new Dockworkers' and Stevedores' Union's permanent offices (ibid, 65). Unfortunately, British attitudes soon hardened after rioting occurred in a further ill-disciplined local dispute at the docks (ibid, 68), causing Hamilton to tell Tanga's employees in April, 1950 that the Government "was doing absolutely nothing to encourage trade unionism at the time" (ibid, 69).

At the head of the new TAA were two distinct groups: the first consisted of old Makerere students, while the second group was made up of returned service men from Burma who had made a success of Dar es Salaam's increased business opportunities. With Vedast Kyarazi, a Haya doctor, as President and A. Sykes, a local businessman, as Secretary, the TAA complained about the slow rate of Africanisation of the civil service, and pushed for constitutional change (Iliffe, 1979: 507). TAA was also beginning to make inroads in the hinterland, with the ex-teacher turned trader, Saandani Kandoro, using, much to British alarm, his poetic talent to whip up popular support in the Lake Zone (ibid, 504).

Extra impetus to the movement was given by Nyerere's return from studying at the University of Edinburgh in 1952,³¹ and in the following year he took up a teaching post at St. Francis College, Pugu – a secondary school on the outskirts of the city. Whilst at St.

Francis, he continued his political involvement first fostered during his time as President of the African Association at Makerere. He regularly attended TAA meetings at the Arnoutoglu Community Centre in the Mnazi Moja area of the city (Hatch, 1972: 109), and became TAA President in April 1953. However, it soon became difficult for him to combine his duties as a teacher and a political activist as in 1953 civil servants were forced to either leave TAA or lose their jobs (Iliffe, 1979: 510). This was a deliberate attempt to decapitate TAA, and many potential, able leaders were lost to the movement as teachers and other civil servants were forced to choose between their careers and politics. Significantly, the prescription marked a symbolic point of drift between Tanganyika's small professional cadre and the new, less educated TAA leadership that was only to widen over time. Somehow Nyerere was able to juggle the two careers until after TAA's first Territorial Conference on the 7th July 1954 when TAA changed its name to the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

By September 1955, TANU had over 40,000 members nation-wide (ibid, 518), and as TANU mushroomed in size a new desire for a Tanganyika African Trade Union Congress emerged (p. 538). In July 1955, Tom Mboya, the leader of the Kenyan Federation of Labour, came on a three day visit to Dar es Salaam to discuss the foundation of a similar organisation in Tanganyika with representatives of the African Commercial Employees Association (ACEA), the Tanganyika African Government Servants Association (TAGSA), the Railway African Union (RAU), and the Staff Association of Clerks in Dar es Salaam Port. As a result all the trade organisations were amalgamated, and on the 7th October that year the Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL) was founded. J. Ohanga, the leader of RAU, was chosen as president, and Rashidi Kawawa as General Secretary.

Absent from the consultations with Tom Mboya were representatives of TATA, and it was not until 1962, that a teachers' organisation was able to affiliate to the TFL. There were three major reasons for this delay. The first lay in the simple fact that TATA was

³¹ See Shepperson, G. "An early African graduate", *University of Edinburgh Gazette*, No.32, January 1962.

not a union but an association, and in 1958 TATA leaders called upon the help of The World Confederation of Organisation of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP) for advice on how to improve their bargaining skills (Swai, 2000:11). The verdict given was that they could best forward their case as a trade union, and on the 17th March, 1958, TATA became the Tanganyika Union of African Teachers (TUAT) and registered as a member of WCOTP (*Chama cha Walimu Tanzania* (CWT), 1997: 5). The second cause of the delay was the Colonial Government's deliberate attempts to prevent at all costs the better educated members of society entering politics. Teachers had already been forbidden from joining the TAA in 1953, and in 1958 all teachers with a monthly salary of more than Sh.1.170 were prohibited from joining TUAT. At a stroke the whole of TUAT's leadership was forced to resign and the union was left to less qualified primary school teachers to oversee. Nevertheless, TUAT was able to put before Tanganyika's Legislative Council in December 1958 demands for proper pension schemes, free medication in government hospitals, daily allowances for while out of station on duty, transport expenses for work related travel, and allowances to allow teachers to return home during the holidays (CWT, 1997: 6). Thirdly, and by far the most damaging contributory factor to teachers' disunity, were the different kinds of teacher plying their trade in the country. The racial division of education in the country ensured that Asian teachers were on their own terms and conditions of service, and perhaps understandably they tried to protect their position by setting up in 1952 the Tanganyika Indian Schools Association (TISA). TISA was disbanded in 1956 and then reformed on October 22nd that year as the Tanganyika Asian School Teachers' Association (TASTA).

If the racial division was not damaging enough for teacher solidarity, great disparities also existed between those African teachers in government and voluntary agency employment. Though the government had increased its "grants-in-aid" programme at the start of the decade to ensure that all voluntary agency teachers received the same salaries as their government colleagues, the two groups were subject to different conditions of service (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 179). On the one hand, voluntary agency teachers were at an advantage because they were not vulnerable to sudden transfer demands and could

serve out their service in one community. On the other hand, they were at a distinct disadvantage when it came to retirement as they were not eligible for a state pension. Furthermore, it was felt that they were subject to a greater degree of scrutiny of their private lives. A set of principles for a professional code of conduct had been set out in the "*Five Year Education Plan*" (1957-1961), but these were not binding and were open to local interpretation (ibid, 180). Different inspectorates for government and voluntary agency schools were in operation, and whereas government teachers were judged upon their ability to do their job and their professional integrity, voluntary agency teachers working in mission schools had to conform to the commandments of a Christian life. This meant in reality that they could be dismissed for such misdemeanours as bigamy and smelling of drink, whilst the apparent double standards in the application of their code of conduct meant that their government counterparts could indulge in these pastimes (ibid, 180-181). As a result, teachers working at the different denominational schools also set up their own associations. Lutheran Teachers formed The Shambalai African Lutheran Teachers Union (SALTU), Anglican teachers joined The Christian Council of Tanganyika Teachers Association (CCTTA), whilst those working in Catholic Missions came together under The Tanganyika African Teachers Union (TACTA) (Swai, 2000: 11).

Liebenow's (1956) research with Makonde teachers reveals the sharp divide in the profession between those employed by the state and those by the voluntary agencies. Using a very similar methodology to my own, he found that both groups took a rather superior view of TANU. Referring to its members "as a horde of ignorant tribal people" (ibid: 247), the government teachers "felt that the strictures of civil service employment prevented them from forming any type of association" (p. 248). The mission teachers on the other hand, free from the threat of dismissal had formed their own societies along denominational lines. In attending meetings of the Kitangari and Newala chapters of the UMCA Masasi Diocese African Teachers Union, and the Roman Catholic St. Augustine Teachers Association in Newala and Kitangari chapters,

Liebenow found that teachers resented the paternalism of the church authorities and observed that "The meetings were devoted almost entirely to the question of better salaries, housing, medical services, and further training for the teachers" (p.249). There was one thing that both groups were agreed upon, however, and that was the lack of respect that they received in society, "Even our former students merely greet us with a '*Jambo, bwana*' " (Liebenow, 1971: 248).³²

Conflict between TANU and TFL

Born within years of each other, TANU and TFL had for the first few years of their formation, a close almost sibling like relationship. Offices were shared (Iliffe, 1979: 538), and TANU supported its younger brother during its various strike actions, channelling money from its own funds to support labour action. Speaking in 1960, Nyerere could see little wrong with this arrangement.

...(TANU) had an officer in the organisation (TFL)³³ whose special duty it was to stimulate and help the growth of trade unionism. Once firmly established, the trade union movement was, and is, part and parcel of the whole nationalist movement. In the early days, when a trade union went on strike, for instance, and its members were in direct need of funds to keep them going, we saw no doctrine which would be abrogated by our giving financial support from the political wing to the industrial wing of the same nationalist movement (Nyerere, 1960, cited in Davies, 1966: 110-111).

In return, TANU benefited from the anti-colonial feelings that industrial action engendered. This special relationship was soon to sour, as splits within TFL's leadership highlighted ideological difference between itself and TANU. Nyerere was soon to learn by bitter experience that it is harder to remain friends with the trade unions in power than in opposition.

³² *Jambo* is a very informal greeting usually reserved for tourists and people of the same *rika* (age group). It would be expected that a student would use the more respectful term *Shikamoo* when addressing a teacher.

³³ Author's own brackets.

The first notable cracks at the top of TFL came over a technicality concerning the change over from colonial to majority rule. The problem hinged upon the difficulties that the labour movement had in negotiating with the remote East Africa High Commission, and Nyerere's avowed desire to maintain the office as a "skeletal structure" for a future federation between Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda (Friedland, 1969: 126). Government sector workers (who would be most affected by the decision) were opposed to the High Commission's retention, and became increasingly anti-TANU, whilst another group of domestic and transport workers remained loyal (ibid). More significant than this however was the outcome of Tanganyika's first strike after the August elections of 1960, and Nyerere's swearing in as Prime Minister on the 1st October that year (Makaidi, 1995: 31). The industrial action took place when a group of workers at Mwadui mine broke the terms of a fifteen-month agreement with management and laid down tools to demand increased wages and better working conditions (Friedland, 1969: 127). TANU took a stand against the strikers (ibid, 127).

Shortly after taking up the post of Prime Minister, Nyerere resigned in preparation for Tanganyika becoming a republic, and the TFL President, Rashidi Kawawa, took his place in a caretaker capacity (Drum, 1998: 68). This left a gaping hole within TFL, and a bitter struggle ensued to fill the position. This was a difficult time for the labour movement as it struggled to chart a new course for itself in relationship to a supposedly sympathetic regime. Thanks to colonial legislation, it was already starved of some of its best brains, and was suffering from the combined affects of an inexperienced leadership (61% of the leaders were under thirty), mass membership and mismanagement.

Financial problems were preponderant. The unions were unable to collect dues regularly from the members. When money was collected, it was handled in an irresponsible manner and substantial quantities disappeared. In addition, extremely rapid growth placed serious organisational strains upon the unions. The leadership felt it necessary to add many full time officials since very few people had relevant experience, the overwhelming bulk of the

leadership had to learn their trade unionism while actually working as full time officials (Friedland, 1969: 22).³⁴

The two chief candidates for the vacant Presidency stood at opposite poles of the labour movement. Michael Kamaliza had been an early member of the African Commercial Employees Association (ACEA) and had the general support from unions in private and semi-private industries (Iliffe, 1979: 542). He advocated the need for a close working relationship with TANU and agreed with Nyerere's view that those already in employment should put to one side their own aspirations for material advantage for the social advancement of the majority of the population. Nyerere had spelled out this message in no uncertain terms at a meeting of the legislative Council in 1959.

The position is that our civil service is largely an expatriate civil service. What happens? We draw huge salaries not to suit the condition of Tanganyika at all...We have huge salaries of 2,500 Pounds Sterling and 2,700 Pounds Sterling and we take them for granted in a country of mud huts...We must not think that again year after year when we are independent we are going to vote salaries. We will have to put the emphasis where the emphasis must be laid and this is raising the country, sparing every penny so that penny produces another penny for the development of the country (Nyerere, 1959, cited in Bryceson, 1993: 12).

Many public service employees refused to listen, and supported Kamaliza's opponent, Kasanga Tumbo, the militant leader of Railway African Union (RAU), who had declared in 1960 that he stood for "revolution" (Hatch, 1972: 129). Tumbo was wary of TFL developing too close an association with TANU, and mustered support around demands for wage increases, the abolition of East African Commission, and the speedy Africanisation of the civil service. For him and his supporters, the success of independence could only be gauged by the rate of material advancement and the speed by which historical wrongs were righted by the replacement of the colonialists with new, indigenous black managers. They certainly had a case, as there were a large numbers of

³⁴ Later in Chapter 3 we will see that the Tanzania Teachers Union experienced very similar problems after its formation in 1994.

expatriates working in the system. "At independence, Europeans and Asians together constituted around 87 per cent (Africans 13 per cent) of the highest-level graduate professionals, senior administrators and senior managers in industry and commerce. They formed in all 70 per cent (Africans 30 per cent) of all the next level of technicians, sub-professional grades, executive grades in the civil service, middle management in industry and commerce and teachers with secondary education but without a university degree" (Buchert, 1994: 53). Tumbo lost the contest for TFL presidency in September 1961, but not necessarily the argument, and was to remain for the next few years a significant thorn in Nyerere's and Kamaliza's flesh.

Nyerere's Presidency

The major dilemma facing newly independent Tanganyika was that nearly eighty years of colonial rule had created a severe shortage of skilled manpower, and that the replacement of expatriates had to be weighed up against potential drops in productivity. It was simply impossible as Joan Wicken, Nyerere's personal secretary, explains for top political posts to be left in expatriate hands "You have got to remember where we were at the time. In 1961, I knew every African graduate in Tanzania. There were 12 of them, and all of them were inexperienced. Nevertheless, in such a situation, you've got to show you're independent. You need as many black faces in the cabinet as possible, so you put all the graduates in the cabinet. There were problems if you didn't" (cited in Edwards, 1998: 5). The "problems" that Wicken refers to, were not just restricted to the cabinet but cut across the whole labour movement, as demands for fresh pay increases and accelerated Africanisation mounted. Between 1962 and 1963 wages rose by 9% and inversely the numbers in employment fell (Hatch, 1972: 181). In 1958 there were 397,000 people in employment, by 1963, this was down to 342,000 (ibid).

Attempts to reverse the problem inflamed the situation. The passing of regulations through the National Assembly in 1962 that made it possible for any commonwealth citizen resident in the country for five years or more to apply for citizenship brought a

stormy protest from Tumbo (ibid, 130). But more controversial yet were the restrictions placed upon trade unions. In June 1962, bills were passed which introduced severe restrictions on the right to strike, placed the TFL under government control by turning it into a designated trade union, and made civil servants earning more than £702 per annum ineligible for union membership (Friedland, 1969: 128). This last measure, so reminiscent of the British banning of civil servants' membership of TAA in 1953, showed how TANU's chief ally in the independence struggle had become the enemy within.

As with the changeover from German to British rule, the change in power created its own winners and losers, and the teaching profession lost many of its most able members to government. Indeed "lost" seemed the operative word, as whilst TUAT struggled to obtain improved terms and conditions of service, their one time colleagues joined a black establishment, "with a life-style imitative of the former rulers" (Cameron and Dodd, 1970: 162). TUAT did manage to instigate some advances in teachers' welfare, and with the help of an intermediary from WCOTP, Benet Canley, was permitted to join TFL as an independent member (*Chama cha Walimu Tanzania*, 1997: 7). TUAT, however, still only represented black government teachers and a meeting of TUAT, TACTU, TASTA, CCTTA, and SALTU was held in Dar es Salaam on the 20th December, 1962. This resulted in the formation of the Tanganyika National Union of Teachers (TNUT) on the 2nd January 1963 (Ibid).

This amalgamation had been made possible by the "The Education Ordinance" of 1961 which ended racial discrimination in education by allowing, for the first time white, Asian and African children to study together (CWT, 1997: 54). It also provided equal funding for all children's education, and paved the way for the establishment of the Unified Teaching Service (UTS). UTS began the work of guaranteeing uniformity throughout the profession on the 28th February, 1962. However, it was not until long and complicated negotiations had been completed between teachers, voluntary agencies, and

representatives from the public service commission and treasury, that all teachers came under the same terms and conditions of service in 1965 (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 181). The high recurrent costs involved in putting all teachers on an equal footing was a calculated gamble on behalf of the government, for it knew that, “a disgruntled teaching profession was something that the independent government, now facing tension in many directions, could not afford to ignore” (ibid; 182).

In the end, the threat was not to come from the intelligentsia as first feared but from the army. During 1963, Kamaliza had entered into secret talks with the TANU hierarchy on how to bring TFL under the direct control of the Ministry of Labour (Friedland, 1969: 127). Not surprisingly, TFL roundly rejected this thinly veiled attempt at government control, throwing out the proposal by a large majority vote. Angered by this turn of events, Nyerere began 1964, “the year of death of free trade unions” (Swai, 2000: 11) in confrontational mood, stating that as far as Africanisation of the civil service was concerned “the time for...compromise with...principles has now passed” (cited in Bienfield, 1975: 245). This was a red rag to a bull for Tumbo’s supporters as RAU declared that it would oppose the change in policy “at all costs” (ibid). However, before a direct clash between the unions and TANU came about, events on the island of Zanzibar took over.

Owing much to Zanzibar’s historical links with the slave trade, and the presence of a powerful Arab ruling class, the establishment of majority rule was to be much more difficult on the islands than it was on the mainland. The Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) had the support of the majority of the islands’ black population, and polled 49.9% of votes in a crucial 1961 election (DRUM, 1997: 88). However, it had no overall control over the islands’ legislative council, and entered into an uneasy power-sharing agreement with the pro-Arab Zanzibar National Party (ZNP). Feelings of injustice grew after the 1963 general election, when after receiving 54% of the vote, ASP only gained 13 of the 33 seats and became totally excluded from government (ibid, 91). This gave the

Independence celebrations of the 9th December a hollow ring, and dubbing the day “*Uhuru wa Waarabu*” (Arab Independence Day) no East African leaders attended (p.91). On the 12th January 1964, a little known army officer, John Okello, staged a surprisingly successful military coup. The Arab Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdullah was forced to flee the island (p.92), and Abeid Amani Karume, President of ASP, was invited by Okello to return and take up the leadership of the country.

It is hard to imagine that Okello’s revolution was not followed with interest on the mainland. Some saw similarities between their own calls for increased Africanisation in Tanganyika and the injustice of “*Arabisation*” that caused the coup. Others saw opportunities, and just one week later, on the night of Sunday, 19th January, forty soldiers at Colito barracks just outside Dar es Salaam began their own mutiny (DRUM, 1997: 100). In many ways the soldiers were acting like a trade union, “though with guns instead of picket signs” (Hatch, 1972: 161), as their chief complaint was that all officers above the rank of captain remained British (ibid, 160). These British officers were arrested, and then the country’s radio station, airport and State House came under rebel control (p.58). Nyerere, who was sleeping in the capital, wanted to hear their grievances but was reluctantly persuaded to escape capture by Rashidi Kawawa and went into hiding. Meanwhile on the streets Asian shops were looted and other expatriates were mishandled. Having radio links at their disposal the unrest spread to Tabora (at a much faster rate than the National Strike of 1949) with Tanganyikan troops stationed there going out in sympathy (ibid, 159). With rumours on the 25th January that the trade unions were planning a National Strike (DRUM, 1997:100), Nyerere asked for British help, and commandos stationed off the coast had little difficulty in restoring law and order. Though a few of the leaders were killed, most, including Kasanga Tumbo, were arrested.

NUTA

With the more firebrand activists under lock and key, the government attempted to put an end to the issue of Africanisation once and for all, by placing all workers' organisations under its direct control. On the 25th February, 1964, the "National Union of Tanganyika Workers" (NUTA) was established. This was certainly a step backwards as far as organised labour was concerned, as all of the old, free trade unions, including TNUT, were forced to disband, and their membership and assets were transferred to the new monolithic government organisation (CWT, 1997: 8)³⁵. As part of the new system of labour relations every enterprise of more than ten NUTA members was to elect a Workers' Committee that was to advise the employer on labour issues relating to efficiency, safety, welfare, work rules, discipline matters and redundancies (Shivji, 1976: 129). At the national level issues pertaining to teachers were taken up by NUTA's teachers' wing.

If the findings of the 1966 Presidential Commission into the activities of NUTA are anything to go by, NUTA's early performance did little to suggest that it would act as a genuine organ of workers' concern. (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1967). The Commission's report begins with a list of 35 general complaints made by workers against the Union (*ibid*, pp 1-3). They reveal not just NUTA's failure to improve upon the operational difficulties experienced by the TFL, but also, through allegations of incompetence and corruption highlight the degree of workers' suspicion against the government-controlled union. A sample of the most pertinent complaints are detailed below (the bracketed numbers correspond to the points ascribed to each complaint in the original document).

³⁵ It is clear that in making the decision to disband TFL Nyerere was drawing on the precedent of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana. Under the auspices of the West African country's 1958 "Industrial Relations Act" the ninety-four pre-existing craft unions were disbanded and placed under a government controlled Trade Union Congress (Ananaba, 1979: 142). As Ananaba reports the main reason for the decision was according to the then Ghanaian Minister of Labour and Co-operatives to create "a strong centralised trade union, whose central body is recognised by the Government and is given certain powers and duties, and

- (1) The General Secretary of NUTA should be full time, and should not be the Minister for Labour or hold other public offices.
- (2) The General Secretary and his Deputy should not be nominated, but should be elected members
- (5) A number of leaders enter into suspicious associations with employers. Business is conducted in privacy, through telephones or in English, a language which most members do not understand.
- (8) Leaders do not observe office hours. They come in late, or absent themselves from offices for personal affairs.
- (18) NUTA property and funds are misused. For example: official cars are seen in unlikely places during unlikely hours of the day; bars and bands are started in preference to schools or dispensaries, etc.
- (19) NUTA activities and material benefits seem centred around Dar es Salaam, whilst little is done up country
- (20) There are tendencies of personal favours in the recruitment of personnel.
- (22) NUTA officials who are also members of parliament have two sources of income from public funds and are not able to work in both positions satisfactorily. Members prefer that he be relieved of one office.

Looking at this list in relation to my general argument, one can see quite clearly that there was at least a perception in the mid-1960s that salaried union workers were engaging in private business. Moreover, their attention to their work appears to be less than ideal, as a generally relaxed working culture seems to have prevailed. It had been hoped that NUTA would prove a more cost efficient organisation than the Tanganyika Federation of Labour. However, unfortunately, this was not the case as much as 70.17% of its expenditure went on administration costs in 1965 (p.16). In addition, it appears also to be the case that union officials were receiving hefty allowances "Generally speaking, salaries and allowances of staff are not in line with the country's policy of frugality" (p.16). There was the further suspicion that NUTA officers were granting themselves generous loans which did "not appear to be governed by any regulations which provide limitations as to the amounts, types of frequency, or safeguards or guarantees for recovery" (p.17). Moreover, they appear to be confined to middle and

over which the Government would be able to exercise some supervision, and to ensure that these powers were not abused" (ibid).

higher income staff only. This was a bad state of affairs, considering it is the workers' money which is used" (p.16).

The Commission's most important recommendation related to the appointment of the General Secretary of NUTA by the President. It read, "On balance, and taking into account the present stage in the political development of the country the Commission does not think that the President need retain the said powers". In its response, the Government, no doubt reluctant to lose control of a friendly labour movement, gave an unequivocal no (United Republic of Tanzania, 1967: 2), arguing that the "dual appointment" of the General Secretary being the Minister of Labour brought with it many advantages for workers because of the close knowledge that he gained of wage earners' problems (ibid, 3). The government took the opportunity to emphasise the benefits that workers had accrued under the existing arrangement.

To assume that improvements in wages and terms of employment would have been greater had the General Secretary of NUTA been an elected full-time union official is to ignore the benefits conferred by legislation sponsored by the Minister of Labour. The fact remains, that even if the General Secretary were elected, wages in that sector would still largely be determined by what Government and other Public employers can afford to pay (United Republic of Tanzania, 1967: 2).

As we shall see there was more truth to these comments than at first appears, as Kamaliza's sympathies ran deeper than both his union members and his TANU colleagues fully anticipated. Whatever misgivings wage earners had about NUTA in 1967, they were nothing compared to what was about to follow, as the Government's failure to recognise the inherent weaknesses of a State controlled labour movement would, in the long run, effectively shut the door to any prospect of workers' real representation for the best for the best part of the next two decades.

Ujamaa and The Turner Report

In 1962 Nyerere published the pamphlet "*Ujamaa -The basis of African Socialism*" in which he began to flesh out the philosophical underpinnings to his socialist vision for the development of Tanzania. In it, he criticised the unequal distribution of wealth in capitalist societies, and argued for a society free from exploitation and Marxist class conflict (Nyerere, 1962: 12). *Ujamaa*, or familyhood, called for the common ownership of land (p.12), and a return to a "socialist state of mind" (p.1), where community responsibility, and shared rewards for common labour were to be stressed.

In 1966 the Government decreed that all students at university or college who had had their education paid for them by the State should repay their debt to society by working in direct civilian employment for twenty-one months in either the military or as a teacher for "minimal remuneration" (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 164). Student protests against the terms of National Service broke out at the University of Dar es Salaam, and Nyerere, enraged by their arrogant behaviour, reduced his own salary by 20%, and closed down the college sending over 300 of them home (ibid: 220). It is possible that this experience, coupled with the influence of 'dependency theory',³⁶ influenced Nyerere's thinking at the time.

With a muted labour movement already forced to take a back seat, and public opinion blowing in his direction after events on the hill, the only thing Nyerere still lacked to force through his *ujamaa* agenda was hard economic data. This came with the

³⁶ Raul Prebisch gave a structural explanation for the Third World's underdevelopment that was based on the 'unequal exchange' that they received for their goods and agricultural produce. He felt that the Third World was on the 'periphery' of world trade, and therefore suffered because the prices were set at the 'centre' by the most powerful economies, i.e. the USA and old colonial powers. Developing economies therefore could not hope to receive a fair price for their goods. 'Dependency Theory' has been further developed in Latin America through the writing of Andre Gunder Frank, and by Rodney in Africa. For a more detailed discussion see: Frank, A. (1971) *Capitalism and underdevelopment in Latin America*, Penguin: Harmondsworth, and Rodney, W. (1971) *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, Tanzania Publishing House: Dar es Salaam.

publication of a International Labour Office mission report into the country's wages, incomes, and labour policy (International Labour Office, 1967). The mission was headed by the Cambridge University Professor, H.A. Turner, who found that though Tanzania's Gross Domestic Product had grown on an average of 4% per annum between 1961 and 1965 (ibid, 3) the real benefits in this period of economic growth had not been shared by the majority of the citizens. For those in wage employment, life had perhaps never been better since the advent of colonial rule, as they had seen their wages rise by an average of 17% a year in the same period (p.4). Overall, wages had increased by nearly 80%, and with the additional improvements in severance pay, paid holidays, and other fringe benefits. Turner was able to calculate that the, "average labour costs per worker employed have probably at least doubled since 1962" (p.4).

However, these improvements had come at a price as the cost of living had risen by 15% from 1961 to 1966, and the overall percentage of the population in paid employment had dropped by 16% since Independence (p.7). Despite a population growth of around 2% a year (p.3) the actual number of people in wage employment had fallen from 400,000 in 1961 to a probable figure of 315,000 by 1966 (p.7)³⁷ thus leaving the ever-growing number of people outside formal employment to cope with the increased pressures of high inflation. "What is happening, therefore, is that a group of people are emerging who are fortunate enough to be employed by a handful of big monopolistic concerns and public services, to whom most of the benefits of recent economic development appear to have gone " (p.7).

Turner's conclusions could not have been more in keeping with Nyerere's thinking and gave the President the final, green light for his proposed radical economic reforms.

³⁷ This was not the case for the civil service which had seen her number grow by 24.6% during the years 1962-67 (Mtatifiolo, 1994: 95). The trend continued in the early 1970s with the number engaged in the public sector jumping from 160,005 in 1967 to 239,261 in 1972 (ibid, 95).

In general, it is better that future improvements in living standards should take place through "the social wage" (improved social services, public housing, education, etc.) which benefits the whole population, and also increases the national productive potential, rather than through direct general wage or salary increases which only benefit a minority of the population (International Labour Office, 1967: 16).

The Arusha Declaration

On the 5th February 1967, the recommendation of the Turner Report became Party policy with the TANU's passing of "*The Arusha Declaration*". Clearly stating that it was, "the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society" (TANU, 1967, cited in Nyerere 1968: 14), the declaration confirmed the Government's commitment to socialism, and led to the nationalisation of private companies (p.16). Arguing that, "Money was the wrong weapon" (p.18) in the "war against poverty and oppression" (p.17) the Arusha Declaration called instead for "hard work" (p.30), based upon intelligence (p.31) and socialist belief (p.17). Not for the first time in Tanzanian history, the administration drew attention to lax moral probity, "laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of" (p.34) and urged the country to be on the lookout for, "internal stooges who could be external enemies who aim to destroy us" (ibid). These warnings were, as we shall see, highly prophetic.

Perhaps the most pertinent section of the Declaration for our story was the Leadership Code, which was composed by TANU in Arusha's Community Centre between the 26th and 29th January, 1967. Taking a very broad definition of who was a leader, that included any civil servant earning more than 600 Tanzanian shilling a month (Brown & Brown, 1995: 13), it sought to reach down into the very fabric of society, and root out any signs of private enterprise. The exact prescriptions of the resolution were as follows.

1. Every TANU and Government leader must either be a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism.
 2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
 3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned enterprise.
 4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
 5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.
- (TANU, 1967: 36).

Whether the Arusha Declaration would have become TANU policy without the subjugation of organised labour is one of those "what might have been" questions which is very difficult to answer. What is possible to ascertain, however, is that the declaration, by seeking to rectify patterns of economic behaviour that were well established in society, served to drive political resistance underground. Dar es Salaam already had, at that time, a thriving informal economy, making a living from servicing the needs of a growing urban population, and an attempt to return to the country at the state's expense anybody who could not demonstrate evidence of financial security in March and April 1967 failed (Teisen, 1969: 84-89). The resignations over the Leadership Code of two senior cabinet ministers Oscar Kambona, and the leader of TANU's women's wing, Bibi Titi Mohamed (Geiger, 1997), in June, 1967 were a significant blow to Nyerere. But things were to get much worse with the subsequent trial and convictions for treason in 1970 of the aforementioned; Michael Kamaliza, (General Secretary of NUTA), and two ex-high ranking military officers, William Chacha and Elia Chipaka (Drum, 1998: 188-190). That an alliance could be made with the army by two of TANU's chief negotiators during the 1964 military coup, reveals not only the shifting sands of political allegiance of the time, but also how the tensions of early 1960s still simmered underneath the surface. For the time being at least, the radical left still held the whip hand but there was no room for complacency.

Education for Self Reliance

Nyerere's next move was to set out a blueprint for an appropriate education system for an equitable socialist society. In March 1967, Nyerere produced the pamphlet "*Education and Self-Reliance*" (ESR) in which he criticised colonial education for encouraging an elitist, individualistic tendency (p.47) and for alienating children from their communities. ESR proposed that primary school should become a "complete education in itself" (p. 61), and that schools should establish farms and workshops so that students could participate in self-reliant activities, and contribute to the nation's production and the running costs of schools. Heavily influenced by Rene Dumont's book "*False start in Africa*" Nyerere launched into his own attack on the Tanzanian elite.³⁸

The few who go to secondary schools are taken many miles away from their homes; they live in an enclave, having permission to go into the town for recreation, but not relating the work of either town or country to their real life - which is lived in the school compound. Later a few people go to University College they live in comfortable quarters, feed well, and study hard for their degree. When they have been successful in obtaining it, they know immediately that they will receive a salary of something like £660 per annum. That is what they have been aiming for; it is what they have been encouraged to aim for. It is wrong of us to criticise the young people for these attitudes. The new university graduate has spent the larger part of his life separated and apart from the masses of Tanzania; his parents may be poor, but he has never fully shared that poverty. He does not really know what it is like to live as a poor peasant. He will be more at home in the world of the educated than he is among his own parents. Only during vacations has he spent time at home, and even then he will often find that his parents and relatives support his own conception of his difference, and regard it as wrong that he should live and work as the ordinary person he really is. For the truth is that many of the people in Tanzania have come to regard education as meaning that a man is

³⁸

Cameron and Dodd (1970: 221) claim that Nyerere issued a copy of the Rene Dumont's book *False start in Africa* to each member of his cabinet immediately prior to the formation of the Arusha Declaration of 1967. Dumont has this to say on African education, "it has a certain utility, but this is greatly curtailed by the social milieu on to which the educational system was grafted. For most African children, in town and country alike, school represents above all a means of entering the elite class. Even in the most backward areas of the bush everyone has grasped the fact that the official with clean hands earns more and works much less" (Dumont, 1966: 73)

too precious for the rough and hard life which the masses of our people still live (Nyerere, 1967: 55-56).

It is difficult to come to any firm nation-wide conclusions as to the direct influence that ESR had on teachers' livelihoods, as there was a great deal of local variation in its mode of delivery, and its consequences are often distorted by the effects of other government policies. Certainly, Nyerere's condemnation of the attitudes of a profession to which he once belonged did little to raise teachers' stock in the communities in which they worked, and compounded their antipathy to TANU.

Coming as it did, at the very time when the Government had laid out a new policy of wage compression and had banned their involvement in additional money making enterprises, it must have felt as if they were very far away indeed from the position that they expected to be in before independence. This has to be offset of course against the increased profile that the Tanzanian education system was receiving on the world stage, and the avenues of opportunity with regards to promotion that emerged throughout the 1970s (see below). All things considered, it is not surprising that some teachers recovered some of their "lost" income through misappropriation of monies evolving from self-reliant activities "The most frequent problem is that teachers buy products at reduced rates, often do not actually pay, and students therefore neither eat what they produce nor profit from the proceeds" (Mbilinyi, 1976: 90). After all, there was through the *Ufito* system (Gallagher, 1971) a cultural precedent for children working for teachers in part payment for their education. Things did differ from institution to institution, and in the rural areas the success of Education for Self Reliance activities depended very much upon whether the school had their own *shamba* (field) or hired the children out as day workers on neighbouring farms. BJ was a headmaster of a primary school in Tabora region from 1976 to 1978 and a "real believer" in Nyerere's policies of *Ujamaa* and Education for Self Reliance. He explains the difference in the systems. "Some schools didn't have a farm and would instead hire out their children to local farms for the day. This was the case at the first school I taught at. I think the system was very bad and I

didn't like it very much. I think a lot of "*pesa zilienda mfukoni*" ("money went into teachers' pockets") (BL, F/N 16/10/99).

The practice of hiring students out to work on neighbouring farms was more common in older communities, which had better established polities and demarcation of land than the new *ujamaa* villages that sprang up after Villagisation in the 1970s. But even here local politics was to play apart, and as there was often a breakdown of trust between village members (Von Freyhold, 1979) and self-reliant activities could cause conflict between the school and the community. The following extract from my conversation with the same headmaster, BL, both illustrates these tensions and shows how they could be overcome.

At that time it was possible for the government to nationalise land and it was in my rights to ask for land. I was granted 60 acres. The decision was not popular with the local communities at first and we clashed on a number of occasions. The first incident was over cassava. When I had been given permission to start the farm I had told the parents that they would have to up-plant their cassava by a certain date. When the day came and they had still not done as they had been instructed I went out with one of my senior classes and dug up the cassava and left them outside the limits of the school boundary. Of course, many of my students were the children of people who had planted the crops. I was certainly not a *mtu maarufu* (popular person) and the parents were just amazed. After that, I gave to any teacher who wanted it an acre for his or her own use. Only half the teachers accepted it because many felt that as they were *wasomi* (educated) agriculture was beneath them. In the first year, we got a massive profit and the parents and the children gradually came round to the idea. We planted ten acres of cotton, ten of maize. Half of this was sold and half went to the students' diet. Ten acres of ground nuts and ten of sunflowers. Finally ten acres of *mtama mfupi* (a special form of millet). The students did all the work by hand and the teachers supervised the work. Committees were formed for each one of the crops and I tried to leave the administration up to them. Each committee was made up of villagers, students and teachers. The next year (1977) we had the full support of the parents and many brought their tractors to help (BL, F/N 16/10/99).

Government officials' children were often excused from self-reliant activities (Gesase, 1976, cited in Mbilinyi, 1976:90), whilst poorer children laboured in the fields in threat

of the teacher's stick (Besha, 1973, cited in Mbilinyi, 1976: 90). The favouritism did not stop there, as examination papers were sold to candidates and "teachers are accused of switching examination numbers around so that a bright child's number is given to the child of a fellow teacher or a bureaucrat" (Mbilinyi, 1976: 90). This problem of examination leakage has not gone away, and was going to become an ever more frequent occurrence with the advent of teachers' private tuition classes in the 1980s. Though the last point is not directly linked to ESR, it is a symptom of teachers' dwindling stock in the communities in which they worked and an example of the lack of good-will that they held towards the Government's new direction.

Mwongozo

1971 saw two incidents of the threat posed to African socialism by capitalist tendencies and the old, colonial powers. On the 20th January, Milton Obote, the President of Uganda, was removed from power by a military coup after his introduction of the People's Charter, and the Republic of Guinea was invaded by French mercenaries (Shivji, 1976: 123). The risk could not be let to go unchecked and in 1971 TANU's ideological left drew up a set of Workers' Guidelines for the nation's employees. Known by their Swahili name *Mwongozo* (guidelines), they encouraged Tanzanians to pay close attention to leaders' conduct who under the prescriptions of Paragraph 15 of the document, "must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive" (ibid: 125). The *Mwongozo* was widely interpreted as a Worker's Charter and "unleashed a resurgence of trade union militancy" (Drum, 1998: 159) not seen in the country since the 1950's. Between 1971 and 1973 when the government stepped in saying it could, "no longer tolerate such unruly action by workers" (Drum, 1998:159) 28,708 workers had been involved in 31 downing of tools (Shivji, 1976: 134). The lockouts were primarily organised by the Workers' Committees and not by NUTA which was also seen to be guilty of misuse of public funds and of squandering scarce resources.

Productivity was not just affected by organised, industrial action but also by an all pervading atmosphere of anything goes as, "In the wake of *Mwongozo* requests for time off to visit sick relatives, or loans for emergency needs in the family, were made with less constraint, because many workers expected such favours to be granted now that the capitalist concern for profit had been officially condemned" (Hyden, 1980: 161). Many workers were able to use the ensuing chaos to their advantage, as managers fears of been outed as capitalists by the Workers Committees meant that they could no longer crack the whip, and employees, in full knowledge of this, absented themselves from work with little or no risk of disciplinary action.

The introduction of *Mwongozo* is one of those moments in Tanzanian history when it becomes difficult to place teachers in relationship to the rest of the formally employed workforce, though it would seem reasonable to suggest that some the behaviour displayed by parastatal employees was no doubt imitated by members of the teaching force. "It is common to find teachers frequently skipping classes, not concerned about completing the syllabus, not bothered about correcting homework, etc. Let alone any nationalistic or socialist commitment, even the commitment of a conscientious teacher towards his pupils is becoming a rare phenomenon" (Hirji, 1973: 20). It has to be borne in mind that teachers were at the time sanctioned to involve themselves in self-reliant activities outside of the classroom. Thus it would have been easy for an observer when seeing a teacher off the school grounds to conclude s/he must have been engaging in personal matters. If this was not confusing enough, the smooth running of the school day had been negatively affected still further by teachers' involvement in adult education classes. Indeed a deeply ironical situation had emerged with teachers, so harshly rebuked for their own elitist tendencies in the ESR pamphlet, now being charged with the responsibility of politically educating workers.

Adult and Workers' Education

To declare Tanzania a socialist country was one thing, but to actually bring to fruition the kind of society laid out in the Arusha Declaration would require a radical shift in the mentality of workers and non-workers alike. As with the German colonial administration's efforts to educate people for work, the *Ujamaa* State, though approaching the problem from the almost opposite end, also sought to utilise education as the principal tool by which to alter social attitudes, increase productivity, and bring about new patterns of economic relations. This time, however, the aim was not to draw people into the wider, global, capitalist economy but away from it towards a more egalitarian system. Though it is possible to labour the point too much, it is interesting to note that despite their obvious different intentions both attempts at social engineering were to fall foul of the same rock. Whereas the Germans had found that people's ability to survive on the land made it near impossible to instil within them the need for waged employment, Nyerere's Government also struggled in vain to get its citizens to forego their other livelihoods and commit themselves wholeheartedly to a system of financial remuneration designed for the benefit of all.

Unfortunately for the new African authority it could not rely upon the heavy hitting economic measures of taxation and the standardisation of currency to push people down the desired economic path, and would instead have to fall back upon formal instruction. In his New Years Eve addresses to the nation in 1969 and 1970, Nyerere declared that everybody should understand the policies of Socialism and Self-Reliance, and that education was something that people should continue to acquire from the time they are born to the time they die (Nyerere, 1969 & 1970). The linkages between workers' education and social engineering were further cemented after a Presidential circular of 1970 (Nyerere, 1970, cited in Kassam, 1978: 80) in which Nyerere argued for industrial relations appropriate for a socialist society. Workers were not to be just "cogs in the machine", and to enable them to take a more active role in management "Workers

Councils” were to be set up in all public corporations which had more ten employees (ibid, 81). Workers Councils were to advise on wages, marketing, quality control, planning, and technical expertise. Fitting hand in glove with this spirit of encouraging workers’ participation in decision making the “Workers Education Unit of the National Institute of Productivity” ran courses for workers’ councils on the political ideology of TANU, labour management relations, elementary economics, wages policy, NUTA, and literacy (ibid). In 1973 a further circular from the Prime Minister’s Office (Kawawa, 1973, cited in Kassam, 1978) made it compulsory for all workers in government ministries and departments, parastatals, industries, and all TANU related bodies to attend one one-hour long adult education class per working day. In addition to this, all institutions had to appoint their own workers’ educational officer and allocate monies for the classes.

As with *Mwongozo*, the workers’ education programmes were not designed for teachers, as they were not themselves expected to attend classes. However, they were still very much part and parcel of this revolution by political education. From 1969, every primary school was both a school and a centre of adult education, with head teachers charged with the responsibility of identifying relevant courses for their communities to study and to finding instructors to teach on them (ibid: 15), the majority of whom were either already practising teachers or recently completed primary school leavers. Teachers also found additional work as instructors in the raft of adult and workers’ education programmes set up in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These included; “*Kupanga ni Kuchagua*” (To Plan is To Choose) in 1969, “*Uchaguzi ni Wako*” (The Choice is yours) in 1970, “*Wakati ni Furaha*” (Time for Rejoicing) in 1971, “*Mtu ni Afya*” (Man is Health) in 1973, and “*Chakula ni Uhai*” (Food is Life) in 1975. By 1973, there were as many as 94,262 instructors taking adult education classes, out of whom 20,672 were primary school teachers and 2,893 secondary school teachers (ibid: 26). If this was not enough additional responsibility, 98,000 instructors were required

for the National Literacy Campaign (1972-1975) and over 14,000 teachers again were drawn from the profession.

Primary school teachers soon found that the teaching of adults had become a key component of their duties, and it became normal practice for a teachers' classroom contact time with the children to be reduced as compensation for taking on this additional workload. That these lessons were also conducted in dispensaries, community halls, TANU offices, and religious buildings (p.16) meant that teachers were often seen out and about in the local community during school hours. This no doubt contributed to the perception that they were going absent without permission. Kassam also records that teachers were complaining about the length of their working day, and how the "voluntary teachers who are supposed to receive an honorarium of Sh.30 per month do not get it, and very often its payment is delayed for several months" (p.18).

The Musoma Resolution

It was the implications of the 1974 Musoma Resolution, and the subsequent attempts to promote Universal Primary Education (UPE) that had the most serious affect on the quality of education in Tanzania, and resulted in the most dramatic changes in the make-up of the teaching service. The Musoma Resolution made the following recommendations:

1. Universal Primary education should be realised by 1977.
2. Secondary education should be considered as another cycle in itself.
3. There should be an integration of education and work at secondary school through diversified education.
4. Direct entry to University should be abolished as students from that time onwards were to be selected from the active work force on the criteria of their work performance.

5. The promotion examination from Primary to Secondary school was criticised as a preparation for failure, and was to be replaced by the combination of an assessment of a student's character, commitment to society and academic performance (cited in Brown & Brown, 1995).

In purely quantitative terms, UPE was a huge success as Primary school enrolment figures increased from just under a half a million students in 1961 to 2.2 million students in 1976, and up again to 3.37 million in 1980 (ILO, Jobs And Skills Programme for Africa (JASPA), 1982: 110). However, it came at a cost to the quality of education as the shortages in teachers, classrooms, furniture, and textbooks left many of the schools woefully under-equipped (ibid). UPE was a vast undertaking and the flexible methods suggested to facilitate this (shift lessons and the teaching of younger pupils by older pupils (Hinzen, 1982: 8)) could not hide the fact that quality was slipping.

Indeed, attempts to educate the vast number of new teachers required to Grade C level created mixed results. OM, now a well respected secondary school teacher, recalled his negative experience of being a UPE trainee in Arusha in 1975-76 to me. "It was a One Party State and there was a lot of politics and what not was going on" (OM, F/N 9/10/2000). He was at the time 18 years old, and typical of many UPE teachers who had spent some time out of school before being selected on the basis of his maturity for Grade C training. He found the teaching very poor, as many of the Ward Educational Officers, though experienced teachers, had not necessarily completed primary education themselves, and on the advice of his brother he left before qualifying to continue with his secondary school studies. In many respects, OM was quite lucky to find a Form One place, as the increased emphasis on primary education had diverted funds away from State secondary schools and halted the expansion of the sector. The emphasis on UPE from 1974 to the early 1980s meant that the expansion of secondary schooling lagged behind that of primary, which in turn led to the supply of secondary schools being unable to fulfil the demand for places generated by the increased numbers of primary

educated children. OM was also well connected, and was no doubt able to use his brother's influence to circumnavigate the system.

In an attempt to ensure fair allocation of scarce resources and to promote equity between different regional areas a quota system was introduced which limited the number of government secondary school places allocated to each region. It is interesting to note that no quotas were established to encourage females to further their schooling (Cooksey 1986: 186). Though on paper such a policy of positive discrimination appears to fit socialist doctrine, in reality it was open to abuse, and had significant limitations. In 1971, the national examinations were established and the Ministry of National education produced its publication, "New methods of evaluating student's progress" (ibid, 184). The fact that students were from that date onwards to be evaluated not just upon their performance in examinations but also equally on their daily progress in tests and exercises, and their progress in regards to their character development (this vague phrase included notions such as leadership, cleanliness, diligence and responsiveness to nation building exercises) meant that a subjective element had entered into the assessment of children in Tanzania. Though in reality character assessments were minimally important (Cooksey, 1986) the movement away from a meritocracy left the door open for corruption as powerful parents were able to use their influence to find places for their children. Nepotism was strong in Kilimanjaro region with 50% of government and party leaders' children obtaining places in government secondary schools (Masudi, 1993: 209). One can presume that this kind of nepotism meant that academically able children from poor families would find themselves unable to find a place as it would have been already falsely allocated.

It is somewhat paradoxical that though Nyerere's attempts to break elitism formed such a key part of the philosophy behind ESR, the measures introduced in fact fostered the right conditions for it to flourish. A system that is un-meritocratic will always serve the interests of the elite and preserve the status quo, and the fact that the leaders - the very

people designated the role to implement *ujamaa* - were guilty of corruption shows how little they shared in Nyerere's vision. Cooksey (1986: 188) believes that quotas also had a negative influence on the quality of secondary schooling, as many gained entrance to schools without having reached the satisfactory level in grade seven. Reflecting on the statistic that 80% of candidates failed their form four examinations Cooksey had this to say. "One wonders at the rationale behind a system which restricts the number of form one entrants in accordance with manpower planning policy only to fail the majority of them after four years of expensive full time schooling" (ibid: 185).

Most UPE teachers were not as fortunate as OM and found the opportunities for further study limited. Despite the introduction of the Institute of Adult Education's Evening Secondary Education Programme in 1983, designed to provide Primary School leavers with post-primary education, it was not until the mid-1990s that the vast majority of UPE teachers began to take seriously the need to upgrade. According to JN, the Senior Tutor of Morogoro Region's, Institute of Adult Education, many of them held a questionable commitment to their work from the beginning, and no doubt, like OM, were sceptical of the long term viability of the qualification and unsure as to when the Government might no longer be in need of their services. They soon became a problem for management, as it appeared as if they felt they had a "right not to teach" (JN, F/N 27/10/2000). There was after all, "no passing or failing, and little emphasis on methodology" during their training, and many of them, "had been doing other things like working in bars, roaming about the village, and presumably kept on with some of these after joining up" (ibid). It is also probable that some of these teachers had worked first as voluntary teachers in the adult education campaigns discussed above, and as with their other projects continued to engage in them as a hedge against future redundancy.

It is now generally accepted that that UPE teachers' poor academic qualifications and professional training caused a sudden deterioration in the quality of teaching in the country (Kuleana, 2000) which led to a more long term erosion in parents' confidence in

the education system. Indeed, it is also true that the majority of UPE teachers still teaching today remain woefully ill equipped for the classroom and in need of professional upgrading.³⁹ However, it is not the case that all UPE teachers failed to take opportunities for further study and promotion. The following account of SN's career path is "the exeption that proves the rule" and is testament to one individual's perseverance and drive for self-advancement.

Born in 1957 to *Wazaramu* parents from the coast, he was brought up in Morogoro, and after finishing his primary schooling in 1973 spent three years at home with his parents before he was chosen to become a UPE teacher. "I didn't really have an interest to become a teacher because I wanted to join the army, but my family didn't want me to do that so my father forced me to become a teacher" (SN, F/N 16/10/2000). He was taught *Malezi* (upbringing), Kiswahili and Mathematics at the ward level. Unlike OM, he thought that the "teaching was very good" as "they had a lot of experience" (ibid) and was able to understand mathematics for the first time. On the 30th June, 1979, he qualified as a Grade C teacher and started work the next day in Morogoro town. From 1979 to 1985, he continued to teach but was finding it difficult to help his brothers and sisters with their schoolwork. In 1986 he took his form 4 exams and passed with very low grades. "I then decided to study forms 2, 3 and 4 but before I could do this I was accepted to go to Mpapwa Teachers' College in 1988 where in 1989 I obtained my Grade A certificate" (ibid). After finishing this he took his Form 4 again, passing with a division 3, and continued to teach and studying for his A levels at home. "I passed, and from 1992 to 94 I did my Diploma in Education at Mitwara Teachers' College. I am now enrolled in the Open University but I have found it hard going and am going to take more than six years to finish...Anyway, I will get it now. My wife is in the third year of her B.Ed. at the University in Dar, so I have a lot of incentive to do well!" (ibid).

³⁹

See chapter 4.

JUWATA

After the amalgamation of the Tanganyika African National Union and the Afro Shirazi Party into *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) on the 5th February, 1977, it was decided that a more co-ordinated approach to workers' welfare on the mainland and the islands should be adopted. Thus, on the 5th February, 1978 the new workers' organisation *Jumuiya ya Wafanyakazi wa Tanzania* (Union of Tanzanian Workers) (JUWATA) replaced NUTA (CWT, 1997: 12). JUWATA took over all NUTA's ongoing activities; assets; debts and membership. However, there were some small changes to the organisation's structure as offices were opened in Zanzibar and accountancy assistance was given by old NUTA officials. On the mainland, Government teachers were forced to create JUWATA branches at their place of work. "JUWATA was a basket for all unions, and a section for all" (FS, 20/5/2000), and teachers were just one section under the authority of JUWATA's Deputy General Secretary. Each of these other groups of workers had their own section, government, agricultural, business, factory; railway, hotel and tourism. The teachers' section was able to establish links with other international teaching trade unions, including the AATO (All African Teachers Organisation), the IFFTU (International Federation of Free Teachers Unions), and the WFTU (World Federation of Teachers Unions) (CWT, 1997: 15).

As the early years of independence can be seen as the "fat" years of increased economic prosperity for the civil service, the 1970s were the "thin", as the differential between those with waged/salaried employment, and those without, dramatically shrunk in size. From May 1975 to 1980, the Minimum wage was frozen at 380 shillings (International Labour Office, 1982: 268), and by 1980, it had, in real terms, 63% of its 1969 purchasing power. In the same period those in top salary posts saw their salaries fall by 79% (World Bank, 1989, cited in Mtatifikolo, 1994: 98).

The International Labour Organisation, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa (JASPA), Basic Needs Mission, gave this telling summary of how much things had changed in the twelve years since the Turner Report.

Thus the rural-urban gap has narrowed - quite dramatically if the official figures are to be believed - but all indications are that the narrowing has come against the wage earners. Once the elite among the income-earners, this group has since the last few years suffered great erosion in its purchasing power as a result of stagnating wages and galloping inflation. In consequence the average non-agricultural wage earner's real wage now (1980) is lower than it was in 1963, while the real income of the average farmer has held its own. The trends in wage-agriculture gap up to five years ago were quite alarming for the farmers; the trends since then are quite alarming for the wage earners: it is likely that substantial numbers of them have been pushed below the poverty line...Thus while the farmers were the concern of poverty-alleviation strategy up to recently, now we can say that they have been joined by the wage earners (International Labour Organisation, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, 1982: 273).

Economic crisis 1979-1986

Towards the end of the 1970s, Tanzania experienced a number of unforeseen shocks that severely impeded her ability to stay true to her socialist course. These were as follows, (i) a dramatic fall in the price of her exports, (ii) a doubling in the price of oil during 1979 to 1980, (iii) the huge military costs accrued during the war with Uganda, estimated at approximately 500 million dollars⁴⁰, (iv) the need to develop new

⁴⁰ On the 25th January, 1971 General Idi Amin came to power in Uganda through a rightist coup whilst Milton Obote was at the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in Singapore (Kisanga, 1981: 101). From the start of Amin's rule relations between Tanzania and Uganda were poor with Tanzania providing a refuge for Obote's supporters and refusing to recognise the regime (Ibid, 117). In 1972, Uganda bombed Mwanza, killing two people and injuring twenty others. However, affairs significantly deteriorated after the decision to hold the 1975 OAU summit in Kampala, and Amin's subsequent chairmanship of the organisation. Tanzania boycotted the 1975 conference and on the 30th October, 1978 Amin's troops invaded Tanzania to the north of Kagera (ibid, 118). The outside world viewed Tanzania's war with Uganda as a positive development - as his despotic nature was evident - but unfortunately was not forthcoming with any financial assistance for Tanzania's efforts (Svendsen, 1995: 116). Though Tanzania was eventually successful in repulsing the invasion and overthrowing

telecommunications and civil aviation systems after the break up of the East African Community in 1977, and (v) the severe drought of 1973 to 1974 (Gibbon, 1995: 10). As a result Tanzania made an agreement with the IMF in 1979 to draw standby credit (Gibbon, 1995: 11). However, she found the conditionalities of the deal unacceptable to her socialist principles. The IMF requirements included the following salient features.

- Devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling by between 50 and 60%.
- A major reduction of the budget deficit.
- The complete removal of some consumer and producer subsidies and the slashing of others.
- Positive bank interest rates.
- Increases in Agricultural producer prices.
- Major steps toward import liberalisation. (Adapted from Gibbon 1995: 11)

The IMF believed that the basket of conditions would help kick-start the economy into reinvigorated growth by making Tanzania more competitive in the global market. The theory went that currency devaluation would lead Tanzanian goods to become less expensive and more attractive to external buyers, while the increased cost of imported items would encourage 'import substitution' and promote increased crop production (Campbell & Stein, 1992: 10).

In 1981, Tanzania turned to the World Bank for help but was told that the Bank would only assist if she complied with the conditions of the IMF. This Tanzania could not do

Amin, the war took its toll on the national coffers. The economy obviously could not support the war project, as every last shilling was scraped together to sustain Tanzanian troops in Uganda. Shortages appeared everywhere and queues for essentials became even longer. Salt was rubbed into the wound as the returning Tanzanian soldiers showed off their war booty in the form of stolen cars, videos, and TVs, while the demobilised militia resorted to armed robbery (Shivji, 1992: 51).

and in 1981, she introduced the '*National Economic Survival Programme*' (NESP) which hoped to secure an increased capacity to earn foreign capital through the setting up of targets for agricultural production (ibid: 7). Unfortunately, the programme failed because it was poorly planned and based on entirely unrealistic targets. For example in 1981, cashew nut kernels earned 233.69 million Tanzanian shillings in foreign currency but the projected target for 1982 was set at 440.52 million shillings (Stein, 1992: 67).

The failure of NESP meant that the need for IMF assistance was now even more evident. An independent 'Technical Advice Group' was set up in 1982 by the World Bank as an attempt to mediate a solution between the two parties (Gibbon, 1995: 11). A compromise package suggested a devaluation of the shilling within the existing Tanzanian economic structure. The recommendations proved unacceptable to both Tanzania and the IMF, and resulted in Nyerere embarking upon a home grown Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) from 1982-1983. SAP went part of the way to meeting the 1979 IMF demands by devaluing the Tanzanian shilling, reducing consumer subsidies and increasing the prices of agricultural produce (Gibbon, 1995: 11). Meanwhile, life for the *wananchi* (citizens) had become particularly difficult.

The outward signs of economic deterioration seem everywhere evident...Long lines form each morning in Dar es Salaam outside a medium-sized bakery for white bread. There is a shortage of almost all consumer staples: flour, cooking oil, sugar, kerosene, charcoal and clothing. For the first time some residents speak privately of the possibility of urban violence. The Government's policies do not seem to be able to secure a minimum level of food for the majority of the urban population. As for the rural population there is virtually nothing to buy (Young, 1983: 22, cited in Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990: ix).

The number of teachers leaving the profession for alternative means of income was increasing. Tripp (1988) in an exploration into the urban informal economy, found that 70% of people who had left a formal sector job to engage in the informal economy had

done so after 1980 (p.24, cited in Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990: 42).⁴¹ The situation for teachers was no better, the policies of rapid primary school expansion and wage compression had seen to that, and not for the first time they too were forced to eke out a meagre income as best they could. "Hand to mouth" existence means just that, plucking from what grows in the fields and finding profit close to home. Those who already had land quickly returned to the fields.

After the war in 1979 things started to get difficult. I remember once buying some soap in Zanzibar and having to *tupa yote* (throw it all away) when I got to customs as they wanted me to pay so much in tax. The price of food was very expensive by then and I remember that in 1984 a *gunia* (sack) of maize cost somewhere between TZ.Sh. 8,000 to 10,000. I was lucky however because I had a field near Konduchi and was able to survive. That helped a lot (MM, F/N 17/11/99).

Nyerere's *ujamaa* government's response to the crisis was to blame the nation's plight on those members of the informal economy who hoarded goods for profit. By deliberately avoiding taxation and import tariffs, they failed to contribute to the desired expansion in agricultural productivity, and thus not only contravened the goals of national development, but also placed unreasonable surcharges on the cost of their services, and thus exacerbating the social disparity between rich and poor (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990). On the 23rd March 1983, the "Anti-Economic Sabotage Act" (ibid, ix) was introduced in an attempt to control the activities of the *walanguzi* (economic saboteurs). By the 20th April that year, the operation had resulted in the arrest of 1,057 people, the majority of whom were businessmen but there were also civil servants, party employees, and one member of parliament (ibid, xiii). The battle continued to "rage" and in a last ditch effort to increase agricultural production, in 1984, the "Human Resources Development Act" was passed (p.32).

⁴¹ This fitted into one of the three general trends in the public sector, "(a) brain drain of special and rare skills to private sector and to other nations (ii) increased incentive for officers to seek additional compensation within the system through formal and informal means, and (iii) increased informal activities outside office (moonlighting) but sometimes even absenteeism to attend to private matters (now commonly known as 'sunlighting'" (Mtatifikolo, 1994: 99).

Otherwise, known as *Nguvu Kazi* (hard work) street traders who could not produce valid, identity cards were labelled "loiterers" and "idlers", and trucked back to the countryside (p.32). The policy was unsuccessful, as the people soon made the journey back to the towns and cities.

Moreover, the 1983-1984 reduction in government spending on the social services meant that Tanzania in reality fulfilled the 1979 IMF demands before Ali Hassan Mwinyi came to power in 1985 (Campbell & Stein, 1992: 6-7). Such a situation was in fact highly dangerous in that it meant that the austerity of Structural Adjustment had to be experienced in an aid vacuum. The cause for the delay was almost certainly the power struggle between the socialists and the liberalisers within the government. It was because of these tensions that the final decision to sign the IMF agreement was shrouded in secrecy (Kiondo, 1992: 36-37). What we do know is that some time in August 1986 the IMF agreed to allow Tanzania to draw Standard Drawing Rights (SDR) of 64.2 million dollars between the 28th August, 1986 and the 27th February, 1988 (Stein, 1992: 59). The preconditions involved the acceptance by Tanzania of an 'Economic Recovery Plan' which went far beyond the initial plan which had been rejected in 1979, as further currency devaluation, reductions in the number of controlled priced items and increased producer prices were enforced (Gibbon, 1995: 12). Kiondo (1992: 28) has suggested that from 1979 to 1986 a 'tug of war' was contested between those party members who generally believed in the principles of *ujamaa* and those in favour of increased liberalisation.

Mazuri has described Nyerere's resignation as a consequence of an "heroic failure" (1986, cited in Campbell and Stein, 1992: 16), and Tanzania's eventual signing of the IMF Structural Adjustment Agreement in August 1986 can be viewed as a defeat for *ujamaa* and Tanzanian self-reliance, and there is no doubt that her declining economic

position in the late 1970s and early 1980s⁴² and the realisation of the inevitability of structural adjustment loomed large in Nyerere's decision to step down as the country's president in 1985.

The Makwetta Report

In November 1980, the President Nyerere had appointed a commission of, "thirteen people from different sectors, to make a review of the system of education in Tanzania and come out with recommendations for its consolidation or reform" (The United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1984). The report is better known after the head of the commission, the then Minister of Education, Jackson Makwetta, and was published in 1984. It deals with a number of substantial issues and gives a raft of recommendation for how the Government could raise educational standards. There was also little doubt (at least in the mind of one of the thirteen) that this could not be achieved without also bringing about a significant improvement in teachers' welfare, "You must realise that the formation of the Commission was a result of educational decline...Everybody was mad with educational standards and it was recognised that there was a need "to quench teachers' financial thirst" (FS, F/N 15/6/2000).

Despite its modest achievements it was clear that JUWATA was hampered by the same monolithic structure as the old NUTA, and the Commission recognised that there was need for teachers to have some form of independent voice.

Until now, the country has no association which brings together teachers to discuss professional issues in education. Teachers do not have any form of organisation where they can discuss issues pertaining to their professional growth and development. Therefore, the office of the Commissioner responsible for Academic and Professional Affairs in Education will

⁴² Stein (1992: 62) notes that in 1970 Tanzania's balance of trade was 37.6 million dollars. In 1978 her trading position had deteriorated further and her balance of trade now stood at 517.9 million dollars.

encourage teachers to establish their own Professional Association as soon as possible with the objective of developing and promoting their professionalism (The United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1984: 34).

Though falling somewhat short of granting full union status, the Government had allowed an alternative forum to the teacher's section of JUWATA in which the profession could express its concerns; and in 1985, *Chama cha Kitaaluma cha Walimu Tanzania* (CHAKIWATA), (the Tanzanian Teachers' Academic Association) was registered under the Ministry of the Interior (*Chama cha Walimu Tanzania* (CWT), 1997: 16). CHAKIWATA was supposed to limit its activities to professional matters such as conduct; discipline, expertise, and to find ways to solve teachers' problems (ibid). However, it was not at all clear how this could be achieved, as it was not permitted to negotiate on issues of pay and allowances. The limited room for manoeuvre was just enough to bring it into conflict with JUWATA.

A second important recommendation of the commission was that the Unified Teaching Service (UTS) be replaced with a new "independent body" responsible for the employment, promotion, discipline and removal of teachers (ibid, 39) called the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC). The large increase in the number of registered teachers, and "its position in the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education" (p.39) were given as two reasons why the UTS had outlived its usefulness. The first piece of legislation of 1989 saw the passing through parliament of "*The Teachers' Service Commission Act*" (United Republic of Tanzania, 1989) followed by, in 1990, the "*Teachers' Service Regulations*" (United Republic of Tanzania, 1990). Running against the spirit of the Makwetta Report, TSC's independence was to be restricted, as it was not to hold any funds of its own for the payment of teachers, and was also going to continue to "be a department of government under the Ministry of Education" (United Republic of Tanzania, 1989: 4).

The final recommendation of the Makwetta report that I would like to draw attention to, was the establishment of a “special expertise allowance”, which was to “be given as an incentive to teachers with special abilities”(Ibid, 36). This was to be introduced as an incentive for both teachers already working in the profession, and to those well-qualified people who might be considering the work.

Since 1962 the different Schemes of Service of teachers have not reflected due recognition of the heavy demands of society upon the teachers nor the crucial contribution of the latter in moulding the future citizens of the country...This attitude to the role of teachers has grossly discouraged academically able young men and women from enrolling in teacher training courses. Many dedicated teachers have gone to more caring employers. Equally important, existing schemes of service do not require teachers to improve their academic and professional standing before they can qualify for promotion or salary increment (ibid, 36).

Unfortunately, the manner by which the “special expertise allowance” was introduced did little to reward academic achievement, as it was given to all teachers, regardless of their performance, and did not influence automatic promotion. Not only was the ‘Teaching Allowance’ very broadly applied, but it was also very large, as by 1992, it stood as high as 50% of the basic salary for arts teachers and 55% for science teachers (*Jamhuri YA Muungano Wa Tanzania (Ofisi Ya Rais)*, 1992).

The award of a ‘Teaching Allowance’ was a significant coup for the profession, as it came at a time of extreme austerity and political unrest, and is illustrative of what a powerful political lobby group they were becoming in the country. As mentioned above Tanzania was extremely cash strapped at this time, and though there might have been political will to award generous salary increases across the board to all civil servants, there simply was not the money available to do so.

Mwinyi's Presidency 1985-1995

When Hassan Ali Mwinyi was inaugurated into the office of President on the 7th November, 1985 (Makaidi, 1995: 119), he inherited a country on the brink of economic collapse. By January 1986 there were extreme shortages of petrol, and it had become difficult to ensure clean water in urban areas. The capital was gripped by genuine fears of a cholera epidemic, and there were even reports of the plague in Lushoto (Campbell and Stein, 1995: 14-15). The political waters were equally polluted, as CCM was gripped by internal party wrangling. Starved of external economic assistance for six years, and close to complete economic breakdown, Mwinyi was charged with the task of bringing the country back from the brink; and to do this, he had to establish his own style of leadership.

Like Nyerere, Mwinyi too was a qualified teacher, having studied at the Institute of Education at Durham University, and taught at primary, secondary and tertiary level from 1945 to 1961 (Drum, 1998: 266). But there the similarities between him and Nyerere seemed to end, as "he was in many ways, Nyerere's opposite" (Bryceson, 1993: 195). Unlike Nyerere, Mwinyi's political grounding had been on the Islands, where he had served in the Zanzibar Ministry of Education and as the Zanzibar Minister of Health. This first hand experience of civil servants' problems no doubt instilled in him sympathy for workers' concerns, and one of his first acts after being elected as the interim President of Zanzibar in 1984 was to introduce salary increases (Drum, 1998: 266). Mwinyi at first tried to adopt the same approach to the civil service in higher office as he had taken whilst on the islands; and was remarkably strong with the IMF in his rejection of the wage freeze conditionalities embedded in the agreement. He was publicly thanked by JUWATA's General Secretary, Joseph Rwegasira, "for making the agreement more palatable to workers" (Tripp, 1997: 98). However, to introduce large scale salary increases on a regular basis was a politically risky course of action, as neither the IMF

nor some of the more radical members of CCM's left would be happy to see the country's limited resources swallowed up by recurrent costs.

His Zanzibari roots were not always an advantage, as he lacked a power base within CCM's National Executive Committee, and was often at odds with his predecessor. Nyerere's decision to remain on as Party Chairman until 1990 meant that in two senses Mwinyi always had to look over his shoulder. Firstly, and most obviously, Nyerere remained a looming presence with widespread support within the Party's rank and file, quick to rebuke him on any hint of corruption. Secondly, and most importantly, the new Premier could not make a clean break with the past, and lip service at least, always had to be given to *ujamaa* ideology. Any new policy decision, however contradictory with African Socialism, could only be bolted on to the existing philosophical framework, and a number of glaring ideological inconsistencies came to the surface.

Despite making a speech in 1986 at the Diamond Jubilee Hall in Dar es Salaam, in which he called Tanzanian people to "*Kuwajabika*" (take responsibility) (Maliti, 1992: 35), his major political strategy was that of "benign neglect" (Maliyamkono and Bagachwa, 1990). Party control was relaxed and decision-making became ever more informal as "he eschewed public pronouncements and ambitious development schemes" (Bryceson, 1993: 195), in favour of more immediate concerns of daily survival. Some labelled his style of leadership, "Kitchen Politics" and it is clear that workers were able to gain his ear, both in private, and through the traditional roots of *risala* (petition) and *malalamishi* (complaints) (ibid: 196). Decisions were made on the hoof, and were often based upon political expediency, rather than sound financial planning.

In a situation where it was impossible to please everybody by raising salaries across the board, Mwinyi was able to prevent a wide-scale rebellion within the upper echelons of CCM, and the more educated members of the civil service, by buying their silence through generous allowances. For the first eight years of Mwinyi's rule at least,

allowances proved a useful short term measure by which real incomes could rise while at the same time the Government could keep to the IMF's Structural Adjustment requirements (F/N 4/6/2000).

Part of the reason why the use of allowances proved such a successful political tool for Mwinyi was that they keyed into pre-existing patterns of payment that were mutually compatible with having more than one source of income. As we have seen in our previous discussions of portage and the *Kipande* (card) system, allowances have a long history in Tanzania, and their re-introduction after the economic crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s in the form of the 'Teaching Allowance' was a welcome boost for many teachers' pay packets. In times of crisis people return to what is familiar and close at hand, and exist upon long established patterns of economic survival. When teachers returned to the fields, they did so because it was a way of making a living that they understood and required no radical shift in ideology (F/N, 17/11/99). Likewise when allowances returned post 1985, they were gratefully accepted. Though, there had been people back in 1980 with enough money to "stuff it in their socks", these people were not the kind of people who either went to workshops or funded them (F/N 6/6/2000). Therefore, it was not until after the signing of the IMF agreement that money came flooding into the country and civil servants were able to re-aquaint themselves with an old source of income (F/N 14/6/2000). Allowances seemed to fit well to the 'hand to mouth' existence of Tanzania at that time and they still have a 'here and now' aspect to them.

The Government was told that it couldn't put up salaries so allowances came in as compensation for Structural Adjustment. Of course they weren't taxed and were more popular than salaries. Each group was fighting for allowances, and we saw a number of special interest groups in the country...What I do know is that they (allowances) served to preserve the Status Quo. For example when I was at the University of Dar es Salaam I received 70,000 shillings a month for a car allowance. This was about twice my monthly salary! (RM, F/N 14/6/2000).

However, the practice of taking of private tuition lessons however for money was more problematic than the receiving of allowances because the cultural roots of the practice were much shallower. Though teachers had first received money for the additional teaching of lessons during the adult education programmes of the 1970's, it still cut against the grain for many teachers.

I like many of us talk about the trauma of the first time we asked parents for extra money. I was sweating the first time I did it and I remember saying it was going to be a lot of work and totalling it all up in Sh 50 bits. However, the parents didn't think it strange at all and expected to pay. After the first few times it was natural. It was in 1982. I was teaching in Kibosho during those years. By the time I left in 1985 parents had given two rooms to the headmaster in Moshi for the purpose of tuition. By the time I started teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1985 it was already a culture. I think it must have started even earlier in primary schools (RM, F/N 14/6/2000).

However, as with most cultural dispositions, the more members of society exhibit a habit or practice, the more normal and commonplace it becomes. MS explains:

Tuition really shot to prominence as a National issue in 1990, because of overcrowding in Dar es Salaam primary schools. By that time, Dar es Salaam had around 160 primary schools catering for approximately 300,000 pupils. Morogoro region today has over 600 primary schools for only 200,000 students. So it is easy to see where the problem lay: too many children and too few schools! Standard 1 classes were very large indeed, with sometimes three teachers present in the same classroom – two of whom were dealing solely with discipline. It was crowd control not teaching! Parents became dissatisfied with the situation; the lack of contact time, and the fact that students were not asked any questions in class. Children would go home with no work in their books. So, some parents went directly to their children's teachers to ask them to teach their children privately. Tuition became a very popular thing in Dar as children seemed to be performing very well, and getting better results than other pupils did. Some schools developed a name for tuition. Muhimbili was a strong hold. However, in 1991 the late Minister of Education sent out a circular banning tuition on school premises because teachers were no longer concentrating on their normal classes. The banning of tuition led to a rather absurd situation as teachers were only allowed to teach outside the school some began to hold lessons in bars. This attracted a lot of bad publicity as many of the children being taught in such places were the children of high up government officials...All this publicity helped spread

tuition throughout the country. For example, a teacher in Kigoma suddenly heard of this thing called tuition and started charging for something that he had previously given free. By 1991, it was widespread throughout Morogoro. Of course, now it is not just primary schools but secondary schools as well...Tuition will never perish. Parents feel obliged and want to help their children (F/N 4/1/2000).

Despite the formation of CHAKIWATA and the establishment of the 'Teaching Allowance', it is clear that the economic crisis continued to affect teachers' pockets long into Mwinyi's time in office, and it was not long before CHAKIWATA began to call for a fully fledged trade union. There had been growing dissatisfaction with the activities of the JUWATA's teachers' wing, and many felt that the Makwetta report should have gone the extra mile and allowed an independent trade union to be formed. The aim to separate out professional issues from welfare issues was a concept "not at all in favour with CHAKIWATA" (Swai, 2000: 12). Things came to a head at the 1988 CHAKIWATA organised symposium on twenty years of Education for Self-Reliance, held at Marangu Teachers' College Kilimanjaro. As Fulgence Swai, CHAKIWATA's General secretary from 1989-93, put it to me, "People were beginning to say 'How can we just talk about mathematics when we have all these other problems'" (Fulgence Swai, F/N 20/5/2000). Nyerere officially opened the Marangu conference and now free of the presidency (but not of the CCM chairmanship) was able to describe the hardships faced by teachers.

There are many other problems with which teachers have to contend, and which I am sure you will be discussing this week. Housing is a serious one. When a teacher is settled in a particular area, it is reasonable to encourage him or her to build or buy a house. But especially in rural areas it is essential that there be a large core of teachers' houses around every school. Providing them is as much the responsibility of the village as is the building of the school itself. The teacher can be asked to pay rent, but somewhere to live is essential if good work is to be done...Another genuine problem is that teachers' wages are often not paid on time, and rarely if ever paid at the school or in a manner where the teacher can get them without absenteeism. Teachers have a right to demand that the administrators consider them, and their work, rather than the greater convenience to administration of requiring

each teacher to go to the District Headquarters to collect the money due to them...Conversely, teachers must themselves be disciplined, and insist upon discipline among their colleagues. It is not always because they are collecting their wages that teachers are absent from class. I know that parents tend to exaggerate the actions of bad teachers, and ignore the hard work of good ones; even so, there are too many reports of indiscipline among teachers for this problem to be ignored. A great deal depends upon the attitude of Head Teachers and Principals, but they need the backing of other teachers, of the Teachers' Association, and of the Ministry, as well as the active support of the parents and local Party leaders...Being a teacher is an honourable, and very demanding profession. No education policy, however good, can succeed without a well-trained, constantly up-dated, and disciplined cadre. The majority of our teachers do try hard to do a good job in spite of the immense difficulties which they face. For their own sake, as well as that of Tanzania, they must help to ensure that all teachers, without exception, fulfil their responsibilities to the best of their ability. The true guardians of the professional honour of Tanzanian teachers are our teachers themselves (Nyerere, 1988: 8-9).

The discourse is a far cry from the tone of the 1967 Education for Self- Reliance pamphlet. Gone are the references to expatriate salaries, and instead we see a growing recognition of teachers' daily hardships and problems in the relationship between the profession and the administration. The speech picks up on a number of issues, which had a burning topicality at the time and remain issues to this day. On the 30th March that year, the Government undertook a one-day census of civil servants (Makaidi, 1995: 153), the results of which were discussed in Parliament on the 6th July, 1990, when Fatma Said Ali revealed to the House that 369, 541,278 shillings was spent that year on 16,109 "ghost" civil servants pay (ibid, 183). To admit that these problems exist during an address to an academic association is significant, and recognises the influence that these factors have on the education system in general. Despite this more open position, Nyerere shies away from taking any blame for their present plight and places the onus back on teachers' backs. They are to be the 'guardians of their own profession'. How this is to be achieved however remains unclear.

School fees were introduced in 1988 and the decade saw a large increase in the numbers of private schools. The government also encouraged civil servants to take on extra

income generating activities as it could no longer pay them sufficient salaries (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990, 32). In his 1990 May Day speech, Mwinyi urged workers to spend their leisure time on legal productive activities as a means of supplementing their incomes (Daily News, 2/5/1990: 1). Though Mwinyi's active encouragement of civil servants involvement in extra money making enterprises can be seen as a realistic response to what was already happening on the ground, the still active prescriptions of the TANU leadership code of the Arusha Declaration (Nyerere, 1967), meant that this new tolerant stance contravened existing Party policy. This contradiction was rectified in February, 1991 when *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) passed what is now known as the "Zanzibar Declaration", freeing up Party members to earn more than one salary, rent property, buy shares, and take up directorships in private companies (Bryceson, 1993: 193, Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990: 31). The decision, unthinkable during the bleak days of *Nguvu Kazi*, represented a significant defeat for *ujamaa* ideology, and led Nyerere to write later of Mwinyi's premiership.

President Mwinyi is a good and gentle person, but he is a weak leader; and his gentleness and weakness are being used by people who are neither good nor gentle to endanger the unity and peace of our country, the "Leadership Code, "was designed to prevent leaders (either directly or through their spouses) from using their position to amass private wealth, property, or privilege. In other words, it required that leaders chose between being leaders or making money for themselves and their families!...There is a clear need for a new Leadership Code (Nyerere, 1995: 15).

The right pressed home their advantage still further when on May Day that year Mwinyi announced in Mwanza that the working week would be reduced from six to five days (Mwinyi, 1991). In response to this, the Tanzanian *Daily News* ran an article on the 3rd March entitled, 'What workers say on five-day working week'. The piece illustrates the breadth of everyday public opinion at that time and provides a valuable snap shot of formal sector workers' *miradi* (income generating projects).

A worker...said that for the move to be meaningful to low wage earners the Government should set up loan schemes in parastatals and other Government

and private institutions to enable the marginal salary earners to get capital for running small projects. "Take for example a family which lives in a one roomed-back yard quarter in Dar es Salaam. The bread earner gets Tz. Sh. 2,500 a month. Where will he get capital to do petty business, or rather what will he be doing on Saturdays?", he wondered...An employee of Kisutu Magistrate's Court said the decision will benefit the few who are well paid because they already have businesses, land and capital for establishing more business...A messenger with Printpak said the Government move was just to formalise what he called "private business day". He said most people had all along been using the day to "set missions" for earning some cash to use in the following week...A man who preferred anonymity, said the move was both good and bad. "It is bad because our country has not attained development levels that allow people to work for five days in a week. I have a feeling that this is going to be a burden to the Government" he said. The good part of it, he explained, is that at least most of the people will have enough free time to use for their own benefit. "In theory the move is good. In reality, however it is crazy. So everyone is given time to run their small income generating projects...How many people will be selling charcoal, spinach, cigarettes, operating kiosks and so on? Who will be doing the buying?" The five-day working week is long overdue" said Rebecca Paulo. "Most of the workers on Saturdays merely report for duty, disappear into the streets to do their shopping and go back to their respective offices an hour before knocking-off time. In short, Saturdays are very unproductive in offices" (Daily News, 3/5/91: 1&5).

Concluding Remarks

This chapter, through its biography of the Tanzanian teaching profession has attempted to nuance the long-standing view that Tanzanian teachers are members of the African elite (Fanon, 1963; Dumont, 1966; Nyerere, 1967). Though members of the educated elite became the "grave-diggers" of colonial rule (Hirji, 1979: 227), it would be wrong to say that they remained an elite for the whole colonial period. Teachers have found themselves politically "now siding with the bourgeoisie now with the proletariat" (Shivji, 1996: 21) and it is clear that teachers' position in society has not remained constant over time. The close relationship between the black independence movement's leadership and the teaching profession was strong in the immediate years after World War Two. However, things changed in 1953 when civil servants' ability to take an

active role in politics was restricted by law (Iliffe, 1979). As a result they saw their ability to sway policy and improve their own position greatly reduced.

As a result of political, economic and ideological factors the chapter has shown that for nearly seventy years the Tanzanian teaching profession (and other public sector workers) had travailed unsuccessfully to establish an organisation capable of defending its rights. The account has also shown how teachers were often at odds with Nyerere's socialist vision for the country's development, and how they did not inherit at independence their perceived birth right of increased pay and political influence. Despite the efforts of the *ujamaa* government to control the informal economy through its *Nguvu Kazi* campaign, teachers were adopting the same kind of survival strategies as teachers' did during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

This lack of proper representation also contributed to teachers' poor pay and conditions of service, and meant that by 1990 they were still failing in their efforts to break free from older patterns of economic activity. Moreover, they were behaving in much the same opportunistic hand- to- mouth manner as the rest of the Tanzanian adult population. Like their forefathers, the Tanzanian teacher of circa 1990 was still likely to be engaged in subsistence agriculture. The change of president in 1985 strengthened these bonds to the past as Mwinyi's strategy of "benign neglect" allowed teachers to engage in additional money making activities, and saw the return of allowances as an important part of teachers' income.

The next chapter is set within the context of Tanzania's abandonment of *ujamaa* and its movement towards multipartyism. It discusses the labour movement's attempts to adapt to the new democratic system of government and provides an account of the short-term historical factors that lay behind the 1993/94 national teachers' strike and the establishment of the Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU). The chapter reveals the presence

of two distinct political factions within TTU, and discusses the early leadership struggles that bedevilled the Union's efforts to press for improvements in teachers' rights. An account of the strategic implications of the changing face of the Union's relationship with the ruling party is discussed. The chapter finishes just before my arrival in Tanzania in 1999 with an account of what were for the whole of my fieldwork the active rates of teachers' pay and allowances.

Chapter Three

“Teacher Politics”

This chapter turns our attention away from a study of deep history and the continuity of structures of economic activity towards the impact that recent events in the sphere of union high-politics have had on teachers' pay and conditions of service. It covers the short-term factors that caused the birth of the Tanzania Teachers Union in 1994 and the “winds of change that were sweeping through Tanzania” (NS, F/N 19/01/2000) as the country made the painful transition from a one party state to a multiparty democracy. The chapter offers an historical interpretation of a different order to that which has been given before; and is intended to compliment rather than replace my previous argument. The “winds of change” ushered in the re-emergence of a free trade union movement, and gave teachers’ their first independent voice in the body politic since the Tanganyika National Union of Teachers (TNUT) was disbanded in 1964. However, they did not blow away entirely the long, enduring patterns of economic activity and informal working practices described in the previous chapter.

Though President Mwinyi’s policy of “benign neglect” (Maliyamkono Bagachwa, 1990) did have a perverse influence upon teachers’ work, it is also paradoxically true that *Rhuksa* (*laissez faire*) left the profession in a far stronger political position than they had been during President Nyerere’s time in office. The “Zanzibar Resolution” meant that workers were now allowed to engage freely in private business. The implementation of the Makwetta report (The United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, 1984) had led to the formation of the teachers’ association, *Chama cha Kitaaluma cha Walimu* (CHAKIWATA), the establishment of a special “Teaching Allowance”, and the granting of new set of conditions of service (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1990). Moreover, macro changes in the political and economic orientation of the county also served to provide the profession with its strongest voice since 1953. One of the major results of

liberalisation was the de-nationalisation⁴³ of many state run enterprises and the corresponding loss of many workers to the private sector. This, coupled to the retrenchment of many public-sector employees working in bureaucratic posts, significantly reduced the number of different kinds of workers with which government had to enter into pay- discussions, thus increasing teachers' negotiating power as they now made up a far larger proportion of the public sector work force.

The Birth of the Tanzania Teachers Union

Perhaps an even more significant factor behind the teacher lobby's new strength was the move to democracy. On the 5th March, 1991, President Mwinyi inaugurated a twenty person presidential commission on whether Tanzania should continue with the one-party political system or move to a multiparty system (Makaidi, 1995: 190). The commission was headed by the country's Chief Justice, Francis Nyalali, and is now better known by his name. The Nyalali Commission published its findings in 1992, and recommended that "despite the fact that over 80% of the people who gave their views to the commission preferred the continuation of a monoparty political system", the country should move towards a multiparty system (Eastern and Southern Africa Universities Research Programme (ESAURP), 1996:1).

The labour movement was attempting to adapt to the new prevailing political -economic order, and at a general assembly of *Jumuiya ya Wafanyakazi wa Tanzania* (JUWATA) in 1991 the decision was made to break up the old, monolithic, umbrella organisation (*Chama cha Walimu Tanzania*, 1997: 16). This was accomplished when the Organisation of Tanzania Trade Unions (OTTU) was registered under the 1991 OTTU Act (Swai, 2000: 12-13). OTTU was officially independent of CCM, and hence

⁴³ One detrimental effect of de-nationalisation on teachers' incomes was the *de facto* end of workers' education programmes. While new private management strove to realign the old parastatals to the demands of the international market economy they had little interest in having a socialist work force

“Slightly more aggressive on workers’ rights” (Tripp, 1997: 98) than JUWATA had been. It also became popular with workers when it “rejected a proposal to treat fringe benefits given to workers as part of a salary to be taxed” (ibid). However, despite its stance on allowances, OTTU’s links with CCM were not entirely severed. The lack of a new appropriate mechanism for the election of OTTU officials, and the fact that its affiliate organisations had yet to establish for themselves free union status, meant that for most workers’ sections, the old JUWATA leadership slipped comfortably into their new jobs as OTTU officials. This was not the case for the teaching profession, as background tensions between CHAKIWATA and the workers’ umbrella organisation had been brewing since CHAKIWATA’s formation in 1985, and ignited into a full-blown open conflict.

Unfortunately, the problem involved not only questions of national legitimacy but also additional concerns of international affiliation, as both CHAKIWATA and JUWATA’s teachers’ sections had independently forged links with wider professional bodies. During the old one-party system, JUWATA’s teachers’ section had followed Tanzania’s cold war national policy of non-alliance to neither of the two cold war super powers. It was ideologically easy to become a full member of the All African Teachers Organisation (AATO). AATO was formed in 1974 and made a virtue of its independence from the North, by emphasising African identity and addressing the specific problems faced by the continent’s teaching profession. Dealings with other international federations had to be more circumspect as JUWATA attempted to balance its relationship to the super powers. Dialogue (but not full membership) was established with both the Soviet backed World Federation of Teachers’ Unions (FISE), and the then two Western teacher organisations: the World Confederation of Organisation of Teachers Profession (WCOTP) and the International Federation of Free Teachers’ Unions (IFFTU) (CWT, 1997: 15). The reasons for the lack of full membership of

and these programmes eventually went by the by and teachers lost this small opportunity for additional income.

WCOTP and IFFTU were not entirely one way, as both organisations had concerns over JUWATA's links to CCM. In addition to this, WCOTP felt that because of the traditional emphasis that it placed on professional development, JUWATA's restricted welfare brief disqualified it from full affiliation (Tom Bediako,⁴⁴ F/N, 25/10/2003). Since the 1988 Marangu "Symposium on Education for Self-Reliance" CHAKIWATA's leadership had too been "attempting to find new ways to transform CHAKIWATA into a union" (FS. F/N, 20/5/2000). For them an opposite logic applied, as they found that their limited welfare brief weakened their links with IFFTU while at the same time, forming a stronger basis for alliance with WCOTP.

Just when it looked that the stalemate would kill off the yet unborn teachers' union, the decision to disband JUWATA and form OTTU breathed new life into the situation, "opening" CHAKIWATA's "eyes" (Swai, 2000: 1) to the possibility that it might still be able to acquire full union status. At their 1992 annual conference at Msimbazi Hall, Dar es Salaam, CHAKIWATA's General Secretary, Fulgence Swai, read out an official declaration transforming CHAKIWATA into a trade union movement (Swai, 2000: 13). After this, CHAKIWATA's 56,982 strong membership became in June 1992 independent of OTTU (Tripp, 1997: 98).

OTTU Teachers' wing was understandably angered by Swai's announcement, and the loss of union dues starved them of valuable funds. Their mood became further exacerbated when it became clear that CHAKIWATA was receiving external help in its attempts to form a free trade union. It was evident that the situation required mediation, and WCOTP became a "prime mover" behind the scenes in helping to set up the machinery by which CHAKIWATA and OTTU could meet to decide on the way forward. Tom Bediako had been WCOTP's Regional Representative for Africa since

⁴⁴ Tom Bediako is affectionately known as "Uncle Tom" and has been the midwife to many African teachers' unions. I was fortunate to be able to interview him after my fieldwork, when he attended a conference of the Commonwealth Consortium for Education (CCFE) held at Edinburgh University on the 24/25 October, 2003.

1984, and his frequent visits to Dar es Salaam in that capacity to advise CHAKIWATA provoked, by his own admission, a particularly strong condemnation. "I was accused of causing confusion in the labour movement" (Tom Bediako, F/N 25/10/2003).

Eventually, a consultation meeting was held at OTTU headquarters on the 22nd October, 1992 to begin the "effort to pave the way for the formation of a strong, independent Teachers Trade Union affiliated to OTTU" (Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU), 1992; cited in CWT, 2000: 85). The Chair of the meeting was OTTU's Director of Economic Planning and Research, Mr. T. M. Kasilati (ibid), and the composition of the other fourteen people present was intended to strike a balance between CHAKIWATA and OTTU's supporters. Representatives from WCOTP (Tom Bediako and Sheena Hanley) and ICFTU (Mr. F.A.Fatoma and Mr. Wouter Van De Schaaf) were invited to perform the roles of neutral mediators. The minutes record that Mr. Bediako urged OTTU's and CHAKIWATA's consultation meeting participants to show unity so as "to avoid" the "nasty experiences occurred (sic) in countries like Mauritius where there are many weak teacher unions" (ibid, 86). The need for consensus was further reinforced when "it was unanimously agreed" that one strong teachers' union "should be formed for the teachers by the teachers for the teachers" (ibid).

With these opening comments behind them, the consultation meeting got down to the complicated task of deciding upon the process by which the formation of the union should proceed (p, 87). The course of action chosen was that a joint committee, under the chairmanship of Prof. Geoffrey Mmari, should be formed. The joint committee was made up of the chairman and five members each from OTTU and CHAKIWATA (p.87). They were tasked to review the already existing OTTU and CHAKIWATA's proposed draft constitutions and to "prepare one draft constitution for the teachers union reflecting the professional and welfare interests of teachers in the country" (p.88). The final draft constitution was then to be put before an interim body of 150 teachers (drawn equally

from OTTU and CHAKIWATA) for approval (p.88). The joint committee was to meet 23 times (FS, F/N 20/5/2000).

It is no editorial slip that the most comprehensive union document to date "*Taarifa ya kazi za chama kuanzia Mei, 1994 hadi Machi, 2000*"⁴⁵ should include a "watered down" (Tom Bediako, F/N 25/10/2003) copy of the minutes of the 1992 first consultation meeting, but provide no further commentary on the complexity of the subsequent meetings. During these negotiations, OTTU's representatives frequently left the table for private consultations, whilst CHAKIWATA continued to be in constant contact with WCOTP, gaining valuable advice on how to proceed (ibid). Mr Bediako's behind the scenes role was the target of OTTU's suspicion. So were the financial sponsors of the consultation process, the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the Swedish Teachers' Union, who were viewed by OTTU as "Strangers coming to destabilise the labour movement" (ibid). It was only after ICFTU and WCOTP amalgamated to form the new world teachers' organisation "Education International" (EI) in January 1993, that it became inevitable that OTTU would lose its privileged position as the sole representative on teacher welfare issues (ibid). The draft constitution was eventually passed in Morogoro in 1993, leading in turn to the official registration of the Tanzania Teachers Union under the 1956 Trade Union Ordinance on the 1st November, 1993 (CWT, 2000: 1).

Coincidentally, the 1st November, 1993 was also the day the teachers' strike began, and those who played a prominent role in the strike hotly dispute the date of registration. There seems to be some grounds for their suspicion here, and even though it is conceivably possible that TTU's registration had just been poorly publicised, it does

⁴⁵ Chama cha Walimu Tanzania (CWT) *Taarifa ya kazi za chama kuanzia Mei, 1994 hadi Machi, 2000*, Chama cha Walimu Tanzania: Dar es Salaam (The Tanzania Teachers Union (2000), *Report of the union's work from May, 1994, until March, 2000*, Tanzania Teachers Union: Dar es Salaam)

seem unlikely that the strikers would have embarked upon independent industrial action if a registered union had already been in operation. In fact, the aforementioned TTU document excludes any reference to the strike, mentioning Peter Mashanga's name only once in a neutral list of TTU's first officers (ibid, p.90). The reason for these absences is strategic, "We want to forget the past and make a fresh start. To progress in a more systematic and scientific manner" (FS, F/N 15/6/2000).

The Teachers' Strike

As the following example of a government secondary school teacher's pay slip reveals, a diploma-trained teacher on the eve of the strike could expect to receive a net take-home pay of 16,021 Tanzanian shillings (see Table 1.). Though a paltry sum when we consider that £1 Sterling had an exchange rate of 750 shillings on the 21st October 1993 (Mashanga, 1993) we should not draw from this the conclusion that the strike was the direct result of inadequate financial remuneration. After all, as chapter two has revealed, the nation's profession had coped up to then with the problems attached to low salaries for the better part of its history, and had done so (Tabora teachers' minor involvement in the 1949 general strike accepted) without taking industrial action. Other contributing factors had to be at play to cause teachers to strike.

To put it crudely, the strikers' motivations for taking industrial action were not simply economic but political, and a result of the strained relationship that they shared with the Ministry of Education and the Teachers' Service Commission. The move to multipartyism had created an atmosphere where opposition to the status quo was possible, and teachers saw much that was wrong with the then existing style of government. To illustrate this prevailing mood of distrust I would like to step back in time, and turn our attention to two related incidents that triggered the strike.

Table 1
Secondary School Teacher's Salary Slip
(October 1993)

DESCRIPTION	TAX	AMOUNT (shillings)
Basic Salary	GS2	8,515.00
Teaching Allowance		4,257.00
Fare Allowance		1,200.00
Rent Assistance		851.00
Cost of Living Allowance		2,000.00
Ins-Nat-Ins Tanzania		-675.30
Income Tax	1,269.00	-126.90
Amount Due Oct 1993		16,021.80

(Source: Tanzanian Government Teacher GM)

The first incident began on the 12th May, 1990, when President Mwinyi closed the University of Dar es Salaam after students had boycotted classes due to grievances over allowances (Makaidi, 1995: 181). Accusing the expelled students of being “rude, unruly and vituperative” (ibid, 182) the University of Dar es Salaam was to remain closed until the 1st January 1991. The closure was to cost the Vice Chancellor, Professor Geoffrey Mmari (the Chairman of the CHAKIWATA/OTTU Joint Committee set up to form TTU) his job. On re-opening, the University of Dar es Salaam Academic Staff Assembly (UDASA) denounced his dismissal and condemned the “State’s insensitivity” (ibid, 191). In response, Bakari Mbonde, the MP for Rufiji, made a speech in the National Assembly on the 11th April in which he said that the university’s staff “were academically under-worked” and as a result spent too much time politicking (ibid).

The student body remained politically active, and in 1992 a group of students taking the M.Ed. arranged a meeting with the Executive Secretary of the Teachers' Service Commission so as their rights could be explained to them. "The government was not keeping to the terms and condition of service prescribed under the TSC regulations, and many teachers were unaware of their rights" (FN 31/5/2000). Once in the teaching pool, this group of graduate teachers helped spread awareness about the new TSC regulations and conditions of service, and some of them became ringleaders of the industrial action.

The second incident involved the government's heavy-handed response to a discipline problem at Tambaza Secondary School, Dar es Salaam. The students had been "harassing others in the area" (ibid) and as a result of their "unruly behaviour" all Form II students were suspended in May 1993. All teachers (including the Head) were subsequently transferred within Dar.

New teachers were brought in, and as the school was a high school and taught A level only all the teachers were graduates. Other graduates went to different schools in Dar like Azania Secondary, where Mashanga was the OTTU teachers chairman...a meeting was held by Mashanga at Tambaza in September 1993 for all teachers from Dar schools where he lectured them on their rights. After this meeting a list of demands were written down and sent to the Labour Commissioner. The law demanded 21 days notice before striking. It was Mashanga's ability to hold the meeting as branch chairman, and the pressure from the meeting, which led to the strike (FN 31/5/2000).

Included in Mashanga's list of fourteen demands discussed in the prologue of this thesis is a particularly strong condemnation of the government's treatment of the Tambaza teachers. Describing it as an "unfair action" (Mashanga, 1993: 3) the letter goes on to discuss the trouble their forced transfers would cause the teachers' families.

Why punish poor teachers at the expense of other peoples (sic) lucrative manoeuvres and it should be remembered that transferring Tambaza teachers did not displace them alone but their families, other teachers and their families in other schools who had to also be transferred. Teachers demand that teachers who were

transferred at Tambaza and who were affected by the Tambaza transfer be compensated each family Shs. 0.5 m (Mashanga, 1992: 3).

Mashanga ended the letter with the following threat, "In the event our demands are not met by 31st October, 1993 WE DECLARE INDUSTRIAL ACTION with effect from 1st.Nov, 1993 that is all Tanzania Republic will strike" (ibid, 4). He had scant grounds for such a cross-territorial claim, as knowledge of the intended strike at this stage was restricted to a small number of Dar es Salaam teachers within Mashanga's inner coterie. Nevertheless, his threat was not entirely without menace as the strike was deliberately planned to cause maximum disruption by beginning during the Form II examinations.

On the first day of the industrial action, turnout was patchy. In some of Dar es Salaam's secondary schools "headmasters had agreed to pay" teachers an additional sum for invigilation (*Daily News*, 4/11/93), whilst in other schools primary school teachers and police were called to oversee the candidates. Ezekiah Oluche was then a teacher at Tambaza Secondary, and gives the following account of his recollections of the 1st November.

I went to school but did nothing. No invigilation! The examinations were supervised by the headmaster and the non-striking teachers. By this time only a minority of teachers had signed to join the strike. At Tambaza Secondary this was around 20 out of the 100 teachers. About 20%! A similar figure struck at Azania Secondary. These were hot bed schools. After this news of the strike began to spread through the mass media. There was positive reporting in the *Uhuru* (Freedom) and *Mzalendo* (Patriot) newspapers and as a result it spread in Dar. The government used Radio Tanzania to try and ban the strike, but Philemon Sarungi's – the then Minister of Education and Culture – efforts only helped to spread the news (EO, F/N 31/5/2000).

On the 3rd November teachers from Dar es Salaam's secondary schools marched on the Ministry of Education and Culture where senior officials told them that a statement would be given to the press (*Daily News*, 4/11/93). After this, on the 8th November, 334 teachers convened at OTTU headquarters for a four-hour meeting, during which they

demanding that they should meet with Philemon Sarungi the next day at the Korean Culture Centre (*Daily News*, 9/11/93). In addition to the previous demands detailed in Mashanga's letter to President Mwinyi, two serious claims were made. The first was that the transferring of the Tambaza Secondary school teachers was done to "cover up an alleged 36 m /= bribe dished out to them (ministry officials) by rich people who wanted plots at the school playground" (ibid). I have been unable to find any supporting evidence to corroborate this allegation. The second was an angry outburst against the Deputy Minister of Education, Bakari Mbonde, for his alleged comments that women teachers "should better stay at home with their husbands rather than coming to teach" (ibid). However, Sarungi did not turn up to this meeting, sending instead Rhoda Mwamnyange to convey the message that the minister would meet with the striking primary and secondary school teachers back at their respective schools (*Daily News*, 10/11/93). Mwamnyange faced the brunt of a furious crowd which viewed Sarungi's decision to meet primary and secondary school teachers back at their places of work as a crude attempt at "divide and rule tactics" (*Daily News*, 10/11/93). They also called on the ministry to desist from spreading rumours that Mashanga had been sacked, describing the stories as part of a "psychological war" against teachers (*Daily News*, 11/11/93).

The government's attitude to the strikers was beginning to harden, and on the 12th November, teachers' attempts to hold a meeting at the Korean Cultural Centre were broken up and they were forced to meet instead behind the *Vijana* (Youth) buildings on Morogoro Road (*Daily News*, 13/11/93). Since the start of the industrial action, teachers had been using various strategies by which to register their protest. As NM (a senior teacher trade unionist) explains, one important strategy that was frequently used was to hold a meeting "as they were a little bit like strikes as teachers would not be in class teaching when they were at a meeting. It was not an official strike in this way but it was like one" (NM, F/N 20/5/200).

Two groups of the teaching profession that were not engaging in any forms of protest were OTTU teachers' section and CHAKIWATA. On Friday 12th November, while the strikers were issuing a statement avowing their intent to continue the strike as their demands had not yet been met, OTTU issued a counter statement saying that an agreement had been reached between the strikers and the government (*Daily News*, 13/11/93). This supposed agreement claimed that teachers would be returning to class on the following Monday morning, and that the issue would be forwarded to the chairman of the proposed teacher's union committee, Geoffrey Mmari (*ibid*). However, come Monday 15th November, the striking teachers were still out of class, and rather than showing any signs of abating the industrial action seemed to be gaining momentum (*Daily News*, 16/11/93). CHAKIWATA was equally unenthusiastic, feeling that the strikers were merely "pretending to be the champion of teachers' rights" (*Daily News*, 17/11/93) and were sabotaging the result of the Morogoro Teachers' Conference which had paved the way for the formation of TTU (*ibid*). CHAKIWATA argued that most of the demands were beyond Sarungi and Mwamnyange's power to solve, and were a result of systemic problems embedded in the administration (*ibid*). Meanwhile, Tambaza Secondary school children were struggling with their examination preparation. As one candidate remarked, "It is really affecting us. I am definitely sure that this year's examination results are going to be poor" (*Daily News*, 17/11/93).

At about this time, Ndimara Tegambwage, press secretary to the main opposition political party the National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR) issued a statement giving the party's full backing for the industrial action (NCCR, 1993). This was not surprising as NCCR was a new political party formed on the 21st January, 1993 (Mmuya, 1995: 8), and had been "looking for ways to align itself to any opposition movement in the country and, therefore, looked for points of weakness" (SM, F/N 23/5/2000). What is perhaps more difficult to ascertain is to whether the strike's leaders were supporters of NCCR. Though there is a belief that Mashanga "was very much NCCR in 1995. NCCR leaders were always going in and out of house" (NM, F/N

20/5/2000), we should not be misled into thinking that NCCR was behind the call not to go to school. The strike “was just a movement to bring about better conditions of service” and had “no hidden agenda, however, and no link to a political party” (FS, F/N 20/5/2000).

The afternoon of the 18th November marked an escalation in the dispute when the Field Force Unit (FFU) was called in to break up an illegal demonstration in Dar es Salaam. After a meeting at Arnatoglu Hall, 400 teachers made the mistake of going on an unregistered march to State House, only to find at just after 1pm, their way blocked by the FFU. In the ensuing chaos, five teachers were arrested (*Daily News*, 19/11/93).

This reporter (Chemi Che Mponda) saw the FFU policemen jumping off their trucks and chased (sic) a group of 40 men and women who were walking and chanting. The chase took them through the Kisutu Market and surrounding areas...The area was thrown into chaos as vendors, shoppers, Mtendaji Primary School pupils, and other people scrambled to avoid the FFU members...A woman was pulled out of a makeshift hotel after entering in while another was nabbed as she walked by a nearby street. Both the women were forced to leap-frog (sic) towards the FFU vehicles (*Daily News*, 19/11/93).

As a direct consequence of holding this march the government declared the strike illegal and warned them to end the protest or face “stern disciplinary action” (*Daily News*, 21/11/93). The threat did not have the desired effect as pockets of teachers began to take sympathy with their Dar es Salaam colleagues and joined the strike. Tanga teachers were the first, boycotting classes on the 22nd November and on the same day, a handful of teachers in Mwanza’s secondary schools refused to invigilate the Form II examinations, and called a meeting to discuss the “brutality” of the FFU (*Daily News*, 23/11/93). In Mbeya, 120 teachers representing all the state primary schools and three secondary schools – Loleza Girls, Iyunga and Mbeya Day – met at Meta Secondary School to add their voice to the protest. Especially angered by Sarungi’s statement that he would replace striking teachers with university graduates, they pronounced that “teaching is a profession and not a dumping ground for untrained staff” and called for

the establishment of a trade union (*Daily News*, 24/11/93). The government was thinking along the same lines, with Sarungi saying on the 23rd November that teachers should address their demands through the Tanzania Teachers' Union (*ibid*). That TTU was now a *bona fide* trade union was certainly news to many of the country's teachers as its registration seemed to have passed without fanfare.

Teachers in Iringa joined the strike on the 25th November (*Daily News*, 26/11/93), and the same day saw the breaking up of another illegal meeting of 2000 teachers at Arnoutoglu Hall by the Ilala district Commissioner George Mkuchika. This aroused the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Nathaniel Mlaki, to join NCCR in his condemnation of CCM, " (the) tactics used by the government to divide teachers in the city are likely to destroy tomorrow's generation" (*ibid*). Academics on the "Hill", still smarting from the loss of their vice chancellor, also lent their backing to Mashanga. On the 26th November, UDASA's chairperson, Professor Mwesiga Baregu, signed a press release saying that the present conflict was a result of the government's neglect of education in general and the teaching profession in particular. "This neglect has lowered the morale of the teachers, and has consequently resulted in a serious deterioration of education standards" (*Daily News*, 27/11/93).

Events in Musoma were to be even more confrontational when six teachers were arrested on the 26th November, after some 260 teachers clashed with police in an attempt to reach the Regional Commissioner's office (*ibid*). One of the ringleaders of this protest ES gives his own account of this march.⁴⁶

In 1992 I graduated from the University of Dar es Salaam and was quickly employed in Morogoro. In 1993 I was moved to Musoma and there the strike

⁴⁶ This interview took place in a guesthouse in Arusha at the end of TTU's 2000 National elections, and my fieldnotes record how nervous ES was during our conversation: "It is important to note how secretive this interview was right from the start, and how jumpy ES was. Our talk took place in a guest house room with the curtains drawn. The interviewee lay in bed and spoke in almost continuous discourse" (F/N 20/5/2000).

started little by little as people began to talk about their problems...It was not easy to strike and we used to receive information about what was happening via the radio...A demonstration of 700 took place in Musoma town.⁴⁷ We were trying to march to the Regional Education Officer's office to deliver a message but the demonstration was stopped by police and we couldn't get there. It didn't really matter as the message had already been sent on ahead. Teachers were hit by police and 13 of us were arrested. I wasn't but I was one of the leaders. No charges were brought against them and they were soon released. The strike got stronger after that as sense of solidarity was formed (ES, F/N 20/5/2000).

With mounting pressure from all sides, Sarungi finally acquiesced to meet with the strikers at the Diamond Jubilee Hall on the 29th November. New to the post he admitted that much of the problem lay with the laxity and laziness within the ministry's headquarters, adding, "Teachers problems did not start yesterday. They are chronic. We must sit together and try and find a solution" (*Daily News*, 30/11/93). Though these words were meant as an olive branch, the "thousands" (ibid) of teachers in attendance made the negotiations impossible. The mood soon reverted to one of confrontation, with Sarungi claiming that the strike was illegal under the terms of the 1967 *Industrial Act*, and the teachers countering with the claim that the new 1993 *Industrial Act* gave them the authority to strike (ibid).

With the stalemate on-going, the president's press secretary, Patrick Chokala, released a statement saying that the president was deeply touched by the situation, and was prepared to meet with a teachers' committee to discuss their grievances (*Daily News*, 30/11/93). Mwinyi had little choice but to meet with the strikers, as, with the Christmas holiday beckoning, the strike was reaching a critical stage with more and more children finding their examinations disrupted. On the same day teachers in Morogoro Municipal district finally came out in support of their colleagues in Dar es Salaam. Calling on teachers "all over the country to lay down tools and boycott the correcting of Standard

⁴⁷ This figure of 700 is considerably higher than 260 teachers mentioned in the *Daily News* and it is most likely that NS has exaggerated the turn-out. It has to be borne in mind, that the strike had a profound affect on the strikers' lives and it is not surprising that he has built the march up in his mind's eye to be a much bigger demonstration than it actually was.

Four, Seven, Form Two and Form Four national examinations pending fulfilment of their demands” (ibid).

According to SK,⁴⁸ a leader of the strike in Morogoro, it seems that rather like protestors in Mara region, teachers in Morogoro first heard of the strike by radio. After which he and a friend “decided to do down to Dar to see if the complaints were genuine” (SK, F/N 14/7/2000). In Dar es Salaam, they met with Mashanga who said that they would need to use a go-between to help find him as he was moving from house to house.

Mashanga was sceptical and wasn’t sure if they were genuine or not, but all the same he gave us a copy of the papers that he had collated which detailed the reasons for the strike. The scepticism came from his hiding. Back in Morogoro a meeting was held at Morogoro Sec. to see if the teachers in the town were willing to support those in Dar. The head of the school was supportive and allowed the meeting to be held, and even gave us stationery...It was agreed by the 500 plus teachers that the demands were genuine and a committee was elected. It was agreed that those present needed to go back to their schools and canvas opinion (SK, F/N 14/7/2000).

This leads us to Mashanga’s meeting with the president at State House recorded in the prologue of this thesis. Conscious of the need to find a resolution to the industrial action, Mwinyi was prepared to admit that the late arrival of the monthly salary was “an anomaly on the part of the government” and promised to improve the situation. “It is a must that you get your salaries promptly at a time when others get theirs” (*Daily News*, 29/12/93). However, he was also fearful that any promises to the teachers could lead to either “copy cat” industrial action or to an unsustainable spiralling of public sector pay. Understandably, he was unwilling to give in to some of their “improper” demands such as the large hike in salaries (ibid) but promised that if it were possible to implement these new benefits, they would be applied across the board.

⁴⁸ SK had been a student at the University of Dar es Salaam and was one of the B.Ed students who attended the meeting with TSC in 1992. He knew Oluche from his time at the “Hill”, and also had come across ES when he worked in Morogoro (F/N 14/7/2000).

We will see to what extent we can implement them. And this would not be for you alone. It would be for every civil servant including you. I am mentioning it again, that is why we have reduced the number of workers. They had been too many. There are some areas in which up to 28 people prepare the tea. I do not know how they prepared that tea?...We are not pruning the workers to cut on the expenses. We are doing so so that the money those workers were being paid could be used to hike the salaries of the remaining workers, including teachers (*Daily News*, 29/12/93).

To Ezekiah Oluche the delegation's rejection of refreshments and their storming out of State House to continue the strike was a big mistake.

Why was it a mistake? Firstly, there were too many people. Two, the demands were too big. Thirdly, we were too angry and rude - the people were furious. One thing I've learnt is that it is not advisable to go to the president with a pressing demand. We gave him no option. I put this down to our naivety. We should have entered into discussion with senior people in government but not with those who make the final decision (EO, F/N 31/5/2000).

Though Mwinyi's words clearly failed to impress members of the teachers' delegation, they went a long way to turning the tide of public opinion against the strike and averting other public sector workers from going out in sympathy. It was hoped that teachers would see reason, and that the end of the examinations, and the breaking up of schools for the Christmas holiday would provide an opportunity for level-headed reflection. Unfortunately for all parties concerned – students, parents, teachers, and government – the strike was to continue. Shortly before the end of term, attention turned to Morogoro where teachers were intending to hold a demonstration.

The Morogoro leaders of the strike had remained in contact with Mashanga through their intermediary in Dar es Salaam and were collecting details from him as to how to advance with their protest. On the basis of this information, it was decided that they should show their protest by marching to the Regional Commissioner's offices (SK, F/N 14/7/2000). However, before they could do this they needed first to get a permit for the demonstration, and a meeting was held between representatives of the Morogoro Strike

Committee, the Morogoro Municipal District Commissioner, the chief of police and other local government leaders to discuss its issue (ibid). They were joined telephonically by the Morogoro Regional Commissioner, Yusuf Makamba, who refused the permit on the grounds that the strike “was a national government issue and not a local government issue” (ibid). However, the teachers’ representatives were not to be put of so easily and said that they could not make a decision to cancel the demonstration without talking first to the teachers. A large number of teachers were waiting at Morogoro Secondary School for their representatives,⁴⁹ and after hearing what they had to say they made the decision to carry on with the illegal march. This gave, as the strike leader, SK explains, the authorities plenty of time to prepare.

Because an official request had been made to demonstrate the local government knew exactly the date of the proposed demonstration and two to three days before it a very good illustration was made by the police showing exactly what they would do to prevent us. This was done right outside Morogoro Sec. Things were getting tense and the police set up camp at the REO’s office. The day of the march came and 500 plus teachers gathered at Morogoro Sec. and marched down Forest Hill and past the hospital. We stopped somewhere near to the post office as we could hear what was being prepared behind us...Two police cars collided and we decided to disperse. We never got as far as Boma Rd. and the RC’s offices. Luckily the strike quietened down after this for the holidays as it was very difficult to keep it going as teachers were hard to find (SK, F/N 14/7/2000).

Back in Dar es Salaam, Mashanga was in no mind to “quieten down” and announced on the 4th January, 1994 that the strike was to continue (*Daily News*, 5/1/94). As far as Oluche was concerned this was another strategic error.

Mistake No.2 was to continue with the strike. A committee was formed to monitor the strike and I was one of those on the committee. The situation had now become very tense and parents no longer sympathised with us. We advised Mashanga to retreat. Go back to class. Sit down and negotiate, as the strike was not supported

⁴⁹ It was only when I was reading through the *Daily News* commentary on the dispute on the 13th June, 2000 that I discovered that the strike had been very strong at Morogoro Secondary School and Kilakala Secondary. This was worrying as I had been working in Morogoro for nearly eight months by then. The fact it took a newspaper article to “discover” this information, shows my own limitations in the area of ethnographic data collection.

by the community. We told him that “retreat is not defeat” but Mashanga refused...The strike became split into two groups. Those who wanted to retreat and those who didn’t want to betray Mashanga and were prepared to continue. Mashanga had no experience of how to run a strike (EO, F/N 31/5/2000).

The following day, Sarungi urged teachers to be in class for the start of term, the 12th January, and warned them that it would be “unwise” to continue with the industrial action (*Daily News*, 6/1/94). On school opening, those loyal to Mashanga continued to boycott classes, and the government issued on the 22nd January, a statement to the effect that punitive action would be taken against any teacher who intimidated others wishing to enter class (*Daily News*, 23/1/94). Despite this, Mbeya teachers resolved to continue with the strike, and about a hundred teachers from Morogoro Secondary and Kilakala Girls School refused to resume classes (ibid). These two schools were left particularly understaffed, and because only five teachers were in class at Morogoro Secondary and only seven at Kilakala the students were left to engage in what the *Daily News* rather euphemistically described as “extra curriculum activities” (ibid).

Meanwhile, things were finally coming to a head in Dar es Salaam when twenty teachers from the city’s primary and secondary schools were arrested under the charge of illegal assembly for attending a 12pm meeting at Azania Secondary School (*Daily News*, 26/1/94). Among those arrested were Mashanga and his loyal supporter Sayi Mdongo. Whilst Mashanga and Mdongo resided at the state’s pleasure,⁵⁰ events were taking place on the outside that would prove instrumental for the birth of TTU. Again, Oluche played an instrumental role in the course of events.

The state refused bail and a private advocate, Dr. Lamwai, was hired to defend the case. I helped in this. So the rest betrayed the strike and kept quiet and the teachers’ union was registered. It was the strike, which led to the registration of the Union. We went to Mmari who said, “If teachers want a forum register it”. So

⁵⁰ Mashanga at a later date would tell NM that his time in jail had ruined his eyesight (F/N 20/5/2000).

the Union was registered in 1994 and not on the 1st November, 1993" (EO, F/N 31/5/2000).

Why Oluche is so adamant here over the date of TTU's registration is that it is important to those people involved in the strike to claim their place in teachers' folklore and emphasise the point that the strike was a success and brought about the birth of the Union. On the other hand, the government has a vested interest in pushing the counter view that the strike was a result of the OTTU/CHAKIWATA discussions. This is because they do not want to appear weak and want to avoid giving off the impression to other groups of workers that if strikes are an effective form of protest. However, it does seem unlikely that the Union was formed before the strike, and I think that Oluche's version of events is the most accurate record of what actually happened.

Lamwai pressed for his client's bail at the provisional hearing held at Kisumu Magistrates Court on the 28th January (*Daily News*, 29/1/94) but it was not granted until the 2nd February (*Daily News*, 3/2/94). The time in custody and the conditions of Mashanga's bail and that of the other teachers arrested at Tambaza effectively ended the strike. The charges against them were eventually dropped and they were neither allowed to "organise nor participate in any assembly except for funerals, prayers and lawful meetings in their work places" (ibid). Despite this, the teachers who were arrested were paradoxically left in a slightly better position than those who had only been suspended because they continued to draw their salaries and remained free to contest the first TTU elections.

The suspended teachers were not to be reinstated until the 2nd September, 1994 when Mwinyi officially pardoned them for their involvement in the strike (*Daily News*, 3/9/94) and in some cases, it was still to be some months before their salaries arrived. No doubt, their unavoidable involvement in additional money making enterprises did much to ensure survival. However, it has to be borne in mind that the core body of strikers were

recently qualified graduates who had had little chance to establish profitable sidelines at their new work stations.

SK was one of these recent graduates, and his friend GM spent a great deal of time during 1994 collecting contributions for him from sympathetic teachers (F/N 14/7/2000). For SK this time was very difficult, as teachers did not want to know him, having been frightened off and threatened with suspension. The most vulnerable were the wives of government workers who would not only be jeopardising their own jobs by getting involved, but also their husbands' jobs (ibid). In the light of these hardships, and the difficulties that were to come, it remains difficult to gauge whether the strike had been worthwhile.

May I say that to dare was a success. The fact that teachers were able to do something like this was a real eye-opener to the government and senior officials in the Ministry of Education. Mashanga's rift with Philemon Sarungi and the expulsion of teachers became something of a cause celebre in the country. This in turn led to the rebirth of real Tanzanian trade unionism as the expulsions formed solidarity amongst the profession (NS, F/N 19/01/2000).

The first TTU elections took place at Dar es Salaam's Changombe Teachers' College on the 25th May, 1994 and resulted in the election of Peter Mashanga as president. The government had hoped that more moderate OTTU and CHAKIWATA representatives would have been chosen. Regional educational officers had actually supervised the elections and some TTU supporters felt the weight of government intervention: "It was trying to tame us" (NS, F/N 19/1/2000). However, the voting in of Mashanga meant that TTU was "not the kind of union they (the government) had wanted" and it soon became clear "when we began to differ at the negotiating table" that "we and the government held different positions (NS, F/N 19/1/2000). Indeed, even at this stage the government was prepared to destabilise the long drawn out constitutional agreement made between OTTU and CHAKIWATA by encouraging the latter to continue to collect membership contributions after the election results (Tom Bediako, F/N 25/10/2003).

Mwanzo Mgumu

As Margaret Sitta explains, “the beginning of any organisation be it social, economic, political, religious or otherwise, is always difficult as stipulated in the Swahili saying *Mwanzo Mgumu* (Hard Start)” (Sitta, 1999, cited in TTU, 1999: 11) and the first few years of TTU’s operations were no exception (CWT, 2000: 6). Thirty years of monolithic, state-run, labour organisations (NUTA, JUWATA and OTTU) meant that there was no culture of free trade unionism in the country, and the defeat of many old OTTU and CHAKIWATA officials in the Changombe elections had left TTU bereft of some its potentially most capable officials. Though Mashanga had proved himself to be a courageous leader of the strike, he had no experience of how to run an organisation as large as TTU and had to “learn by doing” (NS, F/N 19/1/2000). Suspicious at every corner of government attempts at domestication, he was left with no option but to rely too heavily upon an equally inexperienced small coterie of trusted advisors who had been at his side in Dar es Salaam during the strike. As decision making at the top of the union became ever more secretive, it became clear that serious breaches of TTU’s constitution were occurring at all levels of the union structure (CWT, 2000: 6) and that Mashanga was making decisions independently without any consultation with other senior TTU officials.

Most damaging of all were his personal relationships with Margaret Sitta (who held at that time the office of Vice President) and TTU’s General Secretary, Justinian Anatoli Rwehumbiza. As Mashanga is a Mchagga, and Rwehumbiza a Mhaya, it is tempting to blame the difference on post-colonial ethnic tension between the two groups. However to do so would be a mistake as, “They were just very different people. The General Secretary was a very educated man and they just didn’t get on. You couldn’t put the two in the same pot...Sometimes when they were talking together it was fine, but other times they behaved like children” (FS, F/N 20/5/2000). Mashanga’s difficulty with Margaret

Sitta, however, was based not upon a personality clash but upon her links with CCM,⁵¹ and he was to refer to her, and others who he suspected as being too close to the ruling party, as “employer virus” (EO, F/N 31/5/2000). The phrase is highly suggestive, and is meant to convey the meaning that the Union was being weakened by fifth columnists. We shall return to Mashanga’s “eccentric” style of leadership shortly (Tom Bediako, F/N 25/10/2003), however, it will suffice to say here that it is a pity that TTU could not have put up a more united front in these crucial first few years.

The 1995 General Election

1995 was dominated by Tanzania’s first multiparty general elections which were contested over the central issues of mainland Tanganyika’s union with Zanzibar, corruption, and civil service reform. Addressing Tanzania’s Press Club at the Kilimanjaro Hotel on the 15th March Nyerere stated that a future president of Tanzania, “Must be a person of impeccable integrity, devoid of the smell of corruption” (Makaidi, 1995:259). Mwalimu was a strong supporter of Benjamin William Mkapa’s, (Minister for Science, Technology and Higher Education) candidacy, while Mwinyi’s own favoured CCM presidential aspirants were Edward Lowassa and Jakaya Kikwete (ibid, 266). Mkapa won the party’s nomination on June 26th 1995.

Unfortunately, the elections, which took place on the mainland on the 29th October, were marred by various problems (Eastern and Southern Africa Universities Research Programme (ESAURP), 1996). A sample of the difficulties are included below because they were to re-occur during the 2000 presidential election.

- The election officials (many of whom were teachers)⁵² received late and inadequate training (p.15)

⁵¹ Her husband was a high ranking CCM figure, and was to become Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs.

⁵² See section entitled “Political Performance and the Education System” in Chapter 5.

- There were frequent threats of force, “In Bukoba town there was a noticeable mobilisation of force as about 40 members of the FFU paraded through town. This was interpreted in some quarters as the ruling party’s threat to the voters that if they did not vote “correctly” then they would be dealt with by the government’s strong-arm” (p.20)
- There was frequent misuse of state resources (p. 18).
- There were widespread instances of vote buying, “For example, one contestant for a parliamentary seat promised voters a secondary school in every ward.⁵³ At some campaign rallies people were given free Khangas, T-shirts, gifts, food and drink” (p.19).
- There were problems over the non-payment of allowances. “Some presiding officers, assistant presiding officers and political party agents were not paid their meal allowances for the period Saturday 28 to Monday 30 October 1995. Payment was done some days after the polling day. There was a lot of frustration over this and the affected officials sometimes swore not to deliver the election materials until their allowances were paid” (p.26).

Despite these shortcomings, Mkapa was declared the winner by the Chairman of the National Electoral Commission on the 23rd November having obtained 61.8% of the total votes cast (Makaidi, 1995: 274). On the 27th of that month, Frederick Thuluway Sumaye (another ex-teacher) was selected to become his Prime Minister. Mkapa’s maiden speech to the Union Parliament on the 30th November was a reconfirmation of his election campaign as he pledged that his government would maintain “discipline in the civil service” and “fight corruption” (Ibid, 276). In keeping with this promise, he was to launch shortly a “Presidential Commission into the State of Corruption” in the country. The Commission was headed by an ex- Prime Minister, Joseph Warioba, and

⁵³ One teacher, AM, was later to label these institutions as “political schools” (AM, F/N 28/3/2000).

its findings were that corruption was endemic in the country, and that it was possible to identify two distinct levels.

(a) The first group includes those who receive bribes as a result of their meagre incomes and low standard of living and is rampant in all sectors of the economy and social services (Executive Summary on Commission Report State of Corruption in the Country 1996: 1).

(b) The second type of corruption involved high level leaders and public servants whose involvement in corruptive practices is a result of excessive greed for wealth accumulation and money. These are people whose earnings are adequate to meet their basic needs and they have enough property and money. This group uses various tactics to solicit and receive bribes (ibid, 4).

The Warioba commission clearly holds the view that teachers belong to the first group and has this to say on the illegal money making practices of teachers:

Corruption is demanded and given during the registration of children in schools; to enable pupils pass examinations; to enable students obtain placement in secondary schools and colleges; transfers and opportunity to repeat a class. Moreover, teachers give bribes in order to be promoted, to be transferred and to be given placements (Ibid: 1).

Part and parcel of Mkapa's anti-corruption drive was a desire to reverse some of *Rukhsa's* worst excesses, by introducing a more equitable and transparent system of civil service payment. This was to be achieved by incorporating various allowances into the monthly salary (though a government would find it very difficult to cancel a salary, it is always possible to cancel an allowance). The process officially began in the last year of Mwinyi's tenure as president. In reaction to the teachers' strike no doubt, civil servants salaries had doubled on the 1 July, 1994 (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, (Ofisi ya Rais)*, 1994)⁵⁴ and another large increase of 75% occurred on the 1 July, 1995. Then on

⁵⁴ *Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, (Ofisi ya Rais) Mabadiliko ya mishahara ya kuanzia na muundo wa ngazi za mishahara ya watumishi wa serikali kutokana na kongezwa kwa mishahara ya watumishi wa serikali*, No.1, 1994 (United Republic of Tanzania, (President's Office), *Changes to the*

the 18th July, 1995 a government circular published the government's decision to cancel the following allowances by the 1st January, 1996, Domestic Servant Allowance, Water and Sewerage Allowance, Teaching Allowance, Medical Allowance, Topping up Allowance, Judicial Allowance and Driver's Allowance (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania*, (Ofisi Ya Rais), 1995).⁵⁵

Teachers were particularly angered at the decision to cancel "Teaching Allowance" as it had been recommended by the Makwetta Commission as a means of reflecting their special status in society. Though it did not contribute to the size of teachers' pensions and final gratuities, it had proved a popular modality of payment, as the money received was tax -free. TTU was also unhappy with the cancellation, believing it to be a step backwards in teachers' welfare (CWT, 2000: 12). After much wrangling, a high level meeting was eventually convened on the 20th September, 1996 at which TTU addressed its concerns to Sumaye and the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour, Mr. J. Rugumyamheto (ibid). Despite this, however, the government was not prepared to re-introduce the "Teaching Allowance".

The size of the salary has a bearing on the size of teachers' pensions and their end of service gratuity (see Table. 2 below).⁵⁶ However, many teachers' remain sceptical about the value of the salary and much prefer allowances. "The Government keeps telling us that salaries are more important than per diems but I'm not so sure I would like to see the

minimum wage and government workers' wage scales as result of increases in government workers' salaries, No. 1, 1994).

⁵⁵ Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, (Ofisi ya Rais) *Mabadiliko ya mishahara ya kuanzia na muundo wa ngazi za mishahara ya watumishi wa serikali kutokana na kongezwa kwa mishahara ya watumishi wa serikali na kujumlishwa kwa baadhi ya posho katika mishahara* No.2, 1995 (United Republic of Tanzania, (President's Office), *Changes to the minimum wage and government workers' wage scales as result of increases in government workers' salaries and the incorporation of several allowances into the salaries*, No. 2, 1995.

⁵⁶ I am grateful here to BL from the Teachers' Service Commission for very kindly taking time out from his busy schedule to explain how the pension and gratuity are calculated (See Table. 2, F/N 28/2/2000).

equation”(AM, F/N 28/3/2000). As of the 1st July, 1999 a teacher’s retirement age was sixty and it was possible for a teacher who taught for a long time, and had regular promotions, to obtain quite a large gratuity. Table. 2 (below) shows the formula that the Teachers’ Service Commission uses to calculate the pensions.

Table. 2
TSC Pensions and Gratuity Formula

Stage One (The Pension)	Stage Two (Reduced Pension)	Stage Three (Monthly Pension)	Stage Four (Gratuity)
<p>Last salary X 12 X total number of <u>months in the service</u></p> <p>540</p>	<p><u>Pension</u></p> <p>2</p>	<p><u>Reduced Pension</u></p> <p>12</p>	<p>(a)Reduced Pension X 15.5</p> <p>(b)Plus Reduced Pension for one month</p>
<p><u>Example</u></p> <p><u>73,460 X 12 X 360 = 587,680</u></p> <p>540</p>	<p><u>Example:</u></p> <p><u>587,680 ÷ 293,840</u></p> <p>2</p>	<p><u>Example</u></p> <p><u>293,840 = 24, 487</u></p>	<p><u>Example</u></p> <p>293,840 X 15.5 = 4,554,520</p> <p>4,554,520 + 293,840 = 4,849,360</p>

(Note: Both the pension and the gratuity are not taxed)

(Figures in Tanzanian Shillings)

What is most noticeable from this is that though the pension is not a large amount of money, the lump sum given at the end of a teacher’s career can be very large. In the example provided in the table, a teacher who receives a meagre monthly pension of 24,

487 Tanzanian shillings will also receive a substantial gratuity of 4,849, 360 shillings. WN says this about how much the gratuity has changed his life. "Things are much better since I have retired. My gratuity has revolutionised my life. I'm still strong enough to enjoy life. Most of my children have employment and my wife still teaches. I could have stayed on for another five years but I was tired and needed a rest" (WN, F/N 1/3/2000).

The Expulsion of Peter Mashanga

TTU's failure to dissuade the government from cancelling the "Teaching Allowance" derived from its own internal weakness. From as early as August 1994 concerns had been raised over Mashanga's tendency to behave as if he was the "TTU President of Dar es Salaam Region only" (CWT, 1997: 2). Delegates also had a number of other unanswered questions, and wanted to know why he had not gone on a TTU sponsored visit to Zimbabwe? Why he was keeping TTU's registration certificate at his home? Why was he signing off his official correspondence with the phrase "I assent"? (ibid, 3)

By TTU's second national conference, held on 25th and 26th August 1995, Mashanga had still not returned the certificate, and a raft of 16 further complaints surfaced against him. Amongst these were the following.

(iii) Why, contrary to the constitution, had he broadcast to the media that he had taken away the vice president's authority?

(v) Why had he called CWT leaders working in the office Employer Virus?

(vi) Why, contrary to the constitution, had he created a committee to take action on Dar es Salaam's claims?

viii) Why had he broadcast to the media that 75% of teachers' claims had been paid when this wasn't true?

(x) Why had he gone on tour of Mitwara Region without informing the office?

(xi) Why did he not go on an official visit to Zanzibar when he had already been given money for the trip?

(xiv) Why had he become the treasurer of TTU's funds?

(The Roman numerals correspond to the original list of complaints laid out in CWT, 1997: 5-6)

In an attempt to solve these problems Tom Bediako was once again called to Dar es Salaam (p.8). Unfortunately, Mashanga continued with his un-constitutional behaviour, and a further meeting was held in Bagamoyo between the 12th and 17th August, 1996 where yet more complaints were levelled against him. One of these was the allegation that he was signing, like the president, his official correspondence in red ink. He was suspended from office at Bagamoyo, and brought before an extraordinary meeting of TTU's National Congress in Dodoma on the 28th April, 1997 to answer the allegations made against him. As the charges were read out Mashanga "refused to answer avoiding all questions" (NM, F/N 20/5/2000) and after due deliberation a secret ballot was taken. The result of which was that 324 delegates voted to expel Mashanga from office, while only 14 (believed to come from Dar es Salaam's representatives) voted for him to remain.

Announcing the results, acting TTU President Margaret Sitta sincerely thanked Mr. Mashanga who was suspended last August, for agreeing to be discussed and finally being voted out democratically. "This was testimony of how teachers are democratically mature," she told the meeting at the College of Business Education Dodoma Wing, canteen hall. Amid boos (sic) from many delegates, Mr. Mashanga said he would be prepared to give advice to new office bearers whenever he would be approached (*Daily News*, 29/4/97).

Peter Mashanga has never been prosecuted for his alleged offences.

The Dodoma conference also decided to introduce strategies, which included the calling of a national strike to register their opposition to the cancellation of "Teaching Allowance" (CWT, 2000: 13). This decision was to make 1997 a very expensive year for the Union and its representatives were very busy visiting the branches and trying to

mobilise the grassroots for industrial action (F/N 3/4/2000). The major reason for the large cost was the payment of regional representatives' allowances. Fortunately, both the government and the Union were now better predisposed to negotiate, and on the 7th July 1997 the TTU was invited to State House, where it was announced that teachers would be given their own "Tanzania Government Teachers' Pay Scale" (CWT, 2000: 13). This was introduced on the 17th July 1997 and meant that teachers were now slightly better paid than other members of the civil service with a teacher on the lowest grade (TGTS 1) receiving 44,000 shillings a month, 6,500 shillings more than the lowest paid (TGS 1) government worker (ibid). This was enough to put an end to the strike action, as the "decision moved opinion from sympathy for teachers to sympathy for the government, and we decided not to strike. This was even though there was not one teacher who was going to get TGTS 10. Sumaye even said that he wanted to officiate the Morogoro elections" (NM, F/N 20/5/2000)

TTU's New Strategy

Though the introduction of the teachers' own pay scale was a significant success for TTU, its new leadership had still to convince a sceptical membership that they were truly independent of government. The influence of the union's militant wing, though much weaker than it had been in 1994, had not entirely died with the voting out of Peter Mashanga and was to be resurrected at the November Morogoro elections. Margaret Sitta's stiffest challenge was to come from Ezekiah Oluche, one of Mashanga's closest advisors during the strike, and the result of the first ballot was very close with Sitta polling 117 votes and Oluche 95. Without an overall majority the elections went into a second ballot, which Sitta won by 175 votes to 154 (F/N 31/5/2000).

As far as TTU's working relationship with CCM and TSC is concerned, Sitta's victory signalled a departure from the recent conflict ridden past.

There is a good relationship between us and the Head of State and the Prime Minister. Some indicators of this are that Mkapa attended the Mbeya Conference in 1998, and after this the union leaders were invited to State House to discuss some of the grievances raised in Mbeya. This was on the 14th and 15th of March 1999. The atmosphere was great! The president acted as Master of Ceremony and the union sat down one side and MOEC officials (including Kapuya)⁵⁷ down the other...CWT has also been involved in major political issues. An example of this is the recent commission into the state of the union constitution. Five people from Zanzibar and five people from Tanganyika mainland formed the committee. Msulwa was one of these (FS, F/N 15/6/2000).

Though to the outsider TTU's meetings with Sumaye and Mkapa might look as if the Union had the government's ear on teachers' matters, negotiations were, as Margaret Sitta reflects, far more complicated to set up.

Though we have spoken to either Mkapa or Sumaye on three separate occasions it is very difficult, and we have to push to get a meeting with them. Though it sounds good when we say, "We went to see the president at State House"; it isn't in our advantage. It takes a long time to arrange such a meeting. As secondary school teachers are employed by the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Education and primary school teachers under the Head of Local Government we end up having to deal with so many ministries...Well in our discussions with the government at State House a suitable time had to be fixed so that officials from the MOEC, the Treasury, Local Government, Manpower Planning, President's Office, and TSC could all attend (Margaret Sitta, TTU President, F/N 19/1/2000).

Sitta's petition to the president at the Mbeya conference on the 2nd November, 1998 (Sitta, 1998) gave a lament on teachers' perennial problems. These included the following concerns.

- That the salary was not enough to meet teachers' basic needs for a full month (ibid, 8).
- That many rural schools had a shortage of teachers' accommodation, and that this meant that teachers did not have sufficient space to prepare their lessons and mark their students work (pp. 8-9).

⁵⁷

The then Minister of Education and Culture.

- That the government owed teachers back payments for medical treatment, transfers, leave, examination invigilation, and a shortfall in salary after promotion (p.9).
- That teachers were not being promoted.
- That teachers' salaries continue to be paid late, especially those who teach in secondary schools and colleges of Education. Moreover, there were some teachers who were forced to travel a long way to fetch their salaries, some of whom have been assaulted by robbers (p.9).
- That there is a problem with the late payment of retired teachers. Furthermore, there are long standing funeral claims, including some teachers who passed this world some years ago (p.9).

In his response, Mkapa thanked teachers for their co-operation in strengthening the various educational sectors, and hoped that TTU would become an example for other trade unions (Mkapa, 1998: 3). "Moreover, I would like to congratulate the Tanzanian Teachers' Union for obtaining its official registration, that has the number TU.002. Indeed, your union was the first to be registered, established under the Federation of Free Trade Unions" (ibid, 3).⁵⁸ On the central issues of teachers' rights he was able to give a direct commitment on the late payment of salaries. "I am ordering the Ministry of Education and Culture, in co-operation with the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Local Government to find a solution at once to end this problem" (p.8).⁵⁹ Furthermore, Mkapa promised that the salary would arrive by the 25th of each month (p. 8).⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Author's own translation ("Aidha, ninapenda kukipongeza Chama cha Walimu Tanzania kwa kupatiwa usajili kamili wenye nambari TU.002. Chama chenu ndicho cha kwanza kusajiliwa katika utaratibu mpya wa kuunda Vyama Huru vya Wafanyakazi Nchini (Mkapa, 1998:3)). This comment clearly emphasises the systematic movement towards the formation of TTU (not the strike) and reveals Mkapa's favourable stance on TTU.

⁵⁹ Author's own translation ("Ninawaagiza Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni, kwa kushirikana na Wizara wa Fedha, na Wizara ya Tawala na Serikali za Mitaa kutafuta mara moja ufumbuzi wa kudumu wa tatizo hili" (p.8)).

⁶⁰ Unfortunately, as this segment from my fieldnotes reveals this promise has not been kept. "The president has said that the salaries should arrive not later than the 25th of each month, but this has not been

Mkapa also used his address to explain TSC's "*Teachers' Welfare Trust Fund*" (p.10). This was inaugurated in 1997 and had by September 1998, collected 168 million shillings. By contributing 6,000 shillings over the duration of a year those teachers who wanted to join could obtain loans for cars, motorbikes, education, houses, and insurance. In its first year of operations, the Teachers' Welfare Fund had lent 30 teachers money to buy cars, and 50 teachers had been able to buy a motorbike. Eight teachers had used a loan from the fund to buy their own house from the National Housing Association (ibid). We shall return to the issue of micro-credit available to teachers' later however, I should make the point here that most teachers require more modest loans.

Negotiating Machinery

TTU's General Secretary, Yhaya Msulwa, has been particularly enthusiastic about the introduction of formal negotiating machinery, "He wakes up in the morning and starts talking about it" (FS, F/N 15/6/2000). In late 1998 TTU forwarded a draft document entitled, "*The Teachers' Service Negotiating Machinery ACT*" to the President's Office Establishment (TTU, 1988). Though perhaps an over-extension of TTU's authority, there can be little doubt that the government would not have produced it independently, and that now published, forms a solid basis for future discussions. Most of the "act" is very similar to the *Teachers' Service Commission Act* (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1989), and we shall only concern ourselves here with what is new. Section 35 (1) calls for the establishment of a "Teachers' Service Remuneration Council" to consist of the twelve permanent members of the Teachers' Service Commission⁶¹ and "eleven

the case, and since October last year (1999) it has been coming in around the 30th and the 1st. This month's salaries have not yet arrived (EE, the Morogoro Municipal Treasurer, F/N 28/2/2000).

⁶¹ Section (5) of the draft act lists these members to be (a) a chairman appointed by the president, one member each from (I) the Ministry of Education, (II) The Ministry of Higher Education, (iii) The Ministry of Labour, (iv) the Ministry of Community Development, (v) the Prime Minister's Office, (vi) the Central Establishment, (vii) the Treasury, (viii) the Ministry of Planning, and the three representatives from private educational institutions (Section (5), TTU, 1998:4).

members nominated by the union” (TTU, 1998: 19). It was determined that the Council “should meet at least twice in every year” (Ibid: 19) and that it should have the following functions;

- (a) to negotiate and determine the terms and conditions of service for those in the teaching profession without necessarily being imposed by the employer;
- (b) to facilitate presentation of opinions, needs and demands of the teaching profession to the employer especially on the means to attain quality education at all levels;
- (c) to promote a proper understanding between the employer and the teachers in order to ensure efficiency and commitment in the profession;
- (d) to secure and arouse teachers interests and provide for greater responsibility related to work done;
- (e) to discuss and submit advice to the Government on any matter on which the Government seeks advice of the Council;
- (f) generally assist in the furtherance of good relations between Government and teachers (Section 37, TTU, 1998: 19).

By November 2000, the government had as yet not replied to the draft act, and with such a slim mandate Margaret Sitta was finding it hard to prove that her more systematic approach to trade unionism could yield genuine improvements in teachers’ welfare. As SM explained to me, “There are some who preferred Mashanga’s confrontational style of leadership, and think that the Union sits too close to the government” (SM, F/N 25/1/2000). Though there is little doubt in Margaret Sitta’s commitment to the Union, there was a genuine risk attached to the strategy of utilising too much TTU’s links with CCM. “We are using it as a trick at the moment to get what we want” (FS, F/N 15/6/2000). As Tom Bediako explains, “experience has taught me that they (the leaders of teacher unions) get more interested in that than the good of the organisation” (F/N 25/10/2003).

Teachers' Responsibilities and Tuition

A further problem with the strategy concerns TTU's ability to address issues relating to teachers' conduct. Though the union's motto is "*Wajibu na Haki*" ("Responsibilities and Rights") the main thrust of its activities has almost entirely been concerned with the latter. Things did not alter with the change of leadership as any move on its part would have only served to further reinforce the membership's impression that it was working for the government. An example of TTU's silence on issues of teachers' ethics was its failure to support the government's condemnation of teachers' involvement in tuition.

In July, 1998 the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a circular, in which it strictly forbade teachers from using school buildings for private classes (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni*, 1998). The circular states that teachers had been using their timetabled periods to encourage students to join their tuition classes, and that by using school classrooms, teachers were taking away from students one of the few places that they could use for private study. The circular goes on to claim that science teachers had been using schools' chemicals and science laboratories without paying for them. However, the circular did allow teachers to use school buildings for the free teaching of remedial classes, and schools which had a shortage of teachers in a particular subject were allowed to pay for outside teachers to come from other schools to teach compensatory lessons. Despite this prohibition, some teachers continued to hold tuition classes in school buildings. In other cases, schools and teachers 'asked' parents to pay for 'remedial teaching' sessions even when the only thing 'remedial' about the children concerned is that they were behind in the syllabus because the teacher had deliberately gone slowly. When I asked one very senior teacher (who has asked to remain anonymous) what exactly did the term 'remedial class' mean, he had this to say.

Sometimes because of a headmaster's trickery, a whole class attends a tuition class but this is not what it is meant to be. It is meant to be for perhaps four or five students who are lagging behind. However, sometimes teachers only teach about a

quarter of what they should do in class and then say, “if you want to know more about this topic you should come back later”. This time it will be for money. This is one of the reasons why the coverage of the syllabus is never completed (F/N 23/5/2000).

As a result of these practices, the 1998 “O” Level examinations had to be cancelled. “Because of the demand for high marks in examinations many students go to tuition classes. I have no doubt that the leaking of the 1998 O’ Level examinations was done through tuition classes. Teachers knew that if they could obtain copies of the papers then they would ensure high enrolment in their tuition classes” (MS, F/N 4/1/2000). At great expense, the examinations were re-sat in January 1999 when, “The security was stricter and people felt happy with the system. For the first time students knew that if they got an A it was their own A, and if they got an E it was their own E” (EM, F/N 6/12/1999).

Teachers’ Service Commission Allowances

The TSC regulations provide a number of allowances that are for a country as vast as Tanzania essential for ensuring that every school has a full teaching establishment, and that its teachers are adequately provided for and sufficiently motivated to conduct their duties. Unfortunately, there have been “a number of problems with the implementation of the regulations” (EB, F/N 23/11/99) and it has fallen behind in its payment to teachers of these allowances. The most obvious reason for this is Tanzania’s poor “economic situation” (ibid). However it is possible to identify other contributory factors.

TSC’s capacity at the district level remains weak, “It lacks computers, cars, even telephones” (Margaret Sitta, F/N 19/1/2000), and understaffing is a particular problem. As all forms are hand written (often in triplicate) completing the individual procedures required for each separate allowance is very time consuming, and is complicated further by teachers’ ignorance of the system. Furthermore, the relationship between teachers and TSC was damaged during the strike. TSC’s Executive Secretary, Mrs. P.

Olekambaine, puts the tension down to teachers' ignorance of the, "maximums and minimums of TSC. Some teachers think TSC is responsible for the paying of salaries and arrears. TSC is concerned for teachers' welfare, recruitment, promotions, discipline, and pensions but does not have 5 cents of its own. TSC does not have a budget and it is the employers who pay the salaries" (F/N 14/6/2000). However, at the national level, TSC enjoys a warm relationship with its counterparts at TTU. Again Mrs Olekambaine explains.

Here we are close as we share a common agenda – teachers. When I was employed last year CWT paid a courtesy call on us and addressed their concerns. However, there is a history to this and you can't correct everything overnight. Many of the problems come from the nation's financial capacity. We both realise that we have different terms of reference and we try not to criss-cross. We have Msulwa on board as one of the executives of TSC, and if we get stuck for paper I will ask Msulwa (F/N 14/6/2000).

In the same way that TTU was able to utilise its warm relationship with CCM to obtain the teachers' pay scale, it has had significant success over the issue of back pay. By the 30th June, 1999 the government had paid back 536,919,706 shillings of the 920,400,698 shillings it owed those teachers employed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (CWT, 2000:17). "Disturbance Allowance", "transfer allowance" and "subsistence allowance" took up the largest share of this sum.

Transfer allowance shall be payable to a teacher who is transferred from one station to another for the nights necessarily spent on the journey, and in addition to the above for a period of thirty nights in the aggregate at either his old station before departure or at his new station on condition that it was impossible for the teacher to occupy a quarter provided by the employer (United Republic of Tanzania, 1990, Section 65, p. 929).

When teachers are ordered to move station they are paid a small "disturbance allowance" to allow them to clear up their belongings, sort out their private affairs, and pack up their belongings. This is paid at the work-station they are leaving. However, the journey is something that they pay for when they arrive at their new station. These latter payments have been very irregular. Some have been paid their "transfer allowance" and others

have not. It seems to depend very much on the amount of energy (and influence) put in by the respective head (F/N 10/11/1999).

“Subsistence allowances” for a newly qualified teacher is only paid for seven days and no money is given for the spouse or children, “It is assumed that the teacher is single but that may not be the case” (EB, F/N 23/11/99). This is an anomaly, and particularly unfortunate as recently qualified teachers may have to wait some time to find employment. Secondary school teachers obtain employment by applying directly to the Ministry of Education and Culture. On the application form they indicate their three preferred regions, and hope that they are posted to a school in a desirable location. This is not always the case as some places are more popular than others (Dar es Salaam for example) and without its ability to impose a placement upon a teacher, the government would find it very difficult to recruit teachers for isolated schools. “The problem is that they indicate a region and not a district. So, for example a person who may want to teach in Morogoro town may find himself in Kilossa” (OM, F/N 3/2/2000). This problem is carried over to later appointments as the MOEC may replace a teacher in one region with somebody from another. “For primary school teachers the problem of transfer allowance is not as great as subsistence allowance as teachers are only moved within the district” (EB, 23/11/99).

The appointment of primary school teachers follows a different procedure as they have to obtain employment in a particular district from either the Municipal Director or the Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS). Once this is done they go to the TSC district offices with their appointment letter, and their documents and certificates are checked. They then go for a medical examination, and if they are passed fit they return to TSC where they are given a copy of the TSC regulations and sign their contract. At this point they are supposed to receive a “subsistence allowance” and their forms are sent on via the regional TSC offices to TSC’s Headquarters in Dar es Salaam, where a TSC number is allocated. On receipt of the number the District Educational Officer assigns the teacher a

post.⁶² The teacher is then placed on a two-year probation period, after which his/her appointment is either confirmed or not by the District Education Committee (F/N 23/11/1999).⁶³

Table. 3

Government Workers' Subsistence Allowance Rates

Pay Scale TGTS*	Capital City and Municipalities	Major Regional and District Towns	Other Places
	Tanzania Shillings	Tanzania Shillings	Tanzania Shillings
TGTS 14– TGTS 15	40,000	30,000	20,000
TGTS 3 – TGTS 13	30,000	20,000	15,000
TGTS – TGTS 2	20,000	15,000	10,000

(Source: Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Ofisi ya Rais, 3/8/99)

* Tanzania Government Teachers' Scale

“Subsistence allowance” rates are the same for all government workers and in the case of teachers are paid when they attend workshops, conferences etc. or when a teacher arrives at a new post and there is no accommodation available. The employer should pay for the accommodation of the teacher, partner and children for fourteen days. It is presumed that such accommodation would be in a hotel, and there are special tariffs depending upon a teacher's pay and the location of the new school (see Table.3). For example a married teacher on ‘TGTS’ 3 transferred to Dar es Salaam would receive (a) 30,000 shillings

⁶² One can see from the amount of hurdles that have to be jumped that even with the most expedient execution the whole procedure would take much longer than seven days.

⁶³ See Chapter 5.

multiplied by 14 (420,000 shillings), (b) 30,000 shillings multiplied by 14 (420,000 shillings) for the spouse, and (c) half that amount again for each child (210,000). So if our fictional couple had two children they would receive a total of 1,260,000 shillings in per diems.

Primary School Teachers' Arrears

Though the average individual claims for primary school teachers are much lower than for secondary school teachers because of their smaller salaries and less expensive transfers, the overall money owed to them by government was much greater. This was due to the large number of government primary school teachers in the country.⁶⁴ According to TTU this figure stood in 1999 at 125, 836, out of which 110, 763 were members of the union (CWT, 2000).

Due to the complicated stipulations of each allowance, and the other reasons cited above, the government had fallen very far behind in its payment of primary school teachers' TSC allowances, and by January 1999 had over 9 billion shillings worth of registered claims outstanding (CWT, 2000: 15). This was an unmanageable figure, and after a meeting between TTU and President Mkapa at State House in March 1999 (ibid, 16) the government launched a detailed accountancy exercise to verify the claims. On completion, a second figure of approximately 4.2 shillings was reached. This was a large drop, and was particularly sharp in regions where TTU's district offices had not provided

⁶⁴ The official figure is difficult to gauge, as during my time in Tanzania a "teacher audit" was underway to determine how many "ghost teachers" there were in the country. "What constitutes a ghost?" is an interesting question. They may be entirely fictional, or simply deceased teachers whose names remain on the pay-roll. It is also possible that they could be retired teachers who continue to draw a salary, or shadows of teachers who receive one salary at their current places of work and another at their previous placements. Teachers who return late to their stations of work after a period of study are also invisible to the system. Furthermore, private teachers or other ex-employees may also be called ghosts if they continue to draw salaries after ending their teaching commitments.

the necessary assistance to their members. For example, Dar es Salaam's claim fell from 2.9 billion shillings to just 360 million shillings.⁶⁵

The government couldn't pay out the claims without seeing the receipts, and some had claims which were clearly forged. For example a teacher would submit a receipt for a bus journey that was taken in 1996, but the price on the ticket showed the 1999 price. The biggest problem was with treatment as people had bought their medicine from small pharmacies and the government didn't recognise the receipts. The Union tried very hard to argue that some things like holiday pay were part of the contract and should be paid with or without receipts but we failed (SM, F/N 28/3/2000).

Nobody was ever prosecuted for these acts of forgery. "Well they started the problem! I think they knew that they were to blame and decided to put an end to the problem" (F/N 28/3/2000).

Eventually, a final figure of 4.06 billion shillings was agreed upon, and on the 15th February, 2000, Sumaye's office issued a press release (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Ofisi ya Waziri Mkuu*, 2000) saying it was releasing one billion shillings. The statement mentioned that it had ordered the directors of local government to ensure that this money was to be only used to pay off part of teachers' claims. On the same day Sumaye also sent out a circular to all regional commissioners informing them of the funds (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Waziri Mkuu*, 2000) and making it clear that as the money was not sufficient to pay all the arrears. Every director of local government was to ensure that a proper timetable for repayment was scheduled, and that TTU district leaders were to be informed of the decision.

Teachers' Salaries

On 28th June, 1999, teachers received a further pay increase which was in use for the duration of my fieldwork (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, (Ofisi ya Rais)*, 1999). This pegged their salaries at the following rates and meant that a;

⁶⁵ An alternative explanation for this would be that Dar es Salaam's teachers live in the capital of *Bongoland* and, therefore, are more adept at trickery than their up-country counterparts.

- 'Grade B' primary school teacher enters the scale at 'TGTS 1' and receive 51,480 Tanzania shillings a month;
- 'Grade A' primary school teacher enters the scale at 'TGTS 2' and receive 55,070 Tanzania shillings a month;
- 'Diploma' trained secondary school arts teacher also enters the scale at 'TGTS 2' but at a higher notch, and receive 58,150 Tanzania shillings a month. Whereas a science secondary school 'diploma' holder receives 58,920 Tanzania shillings;
- a graduate with a BA Education would begin on 'TGTS 3' and is paid 69,030 Tanzania shillings a month, while the equivalent teacher with a 'BSc Education' would receive 70,990 Tanzania shillings a month.

At the time of my fieldwork, there was "no secret that salaries" were "too low." (Mr. Mariki, Acting Director of Administration and Personnel (MOEC), F/N 13/11/2000). Indeed, when compared to the generous per diems/subsistence allowances available the salary appears to be very small. Let us take the example of a newly recruited secondary school teacher on a monthly salary of 58,150 shillings who visits Dar es Salaam from an up-country school on work related business. The teacher, would receive 30,000 shillings a day for his/her stay in Dar es Salaam, and thus after only two days, would have received more than his/her basic monthly salary. If that teacher were to stay in Dar es Salaam for a month on professional duties,⁶⁶ s/he would receive 900,000 shillings, over 200,000 shillings more than his/her gross annual salary of 697,560 shillings. When I asked a senior local government official about this distortion, he said, "You know I really don't know what your worry is. Even if you were to reduce the size of per diems there wouldn't be enough money to bring about a salary increase" (F/N 11/5/2000).

Allowances do 'help' teachers, and some by adopting the deliberate strategy of involving themselves in as many allowance giving committees and associations as possible have no need of other income from outside the profession (F/N 8/7/200). However, when a teacher does an activity that has allowances attached s/he is seen to be "doing something else" (OM, 28/7/2000) and therefore allowances do not necessarily have a positive

influence on teachers' motivation towards their daily professional duties. Furthermore, the people who get these per diems are, "very few, and most teachers would never see an allowance of this kind" (PN, 24/3/2000). Even though the country's economic difficulties have eased dramatically since the mid 1980s allowances still remain more popular than salaries. Though this might seem rather short sighted when one thinks about the relationship between the salary and the pension, they are untaxed, and considered as an incentive. Furthermore, some teachers view them as compensation for time spent away from their additional money making projects.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have discussed the 1993/94 Teachers' Strike and have attempted to show how the TTU's *Mwanzo Mgumu* (Hard Start) was characterised by internal strife and a confrontational relationship with the government. However, after the end of Peter Mashanga's time in office, TTU's new national leaders adopted a more conciliatory approach to trade unionism and were able to mend the broken bridges between them and the Teachers' Service Commission. As a result, access to government officials improved and the Union was instrumental in the establishment of the Tanzania Government Teachers Pay Scales.

Many of the issues that TTU was most concerned about related to historical disputes over allowances, and the Union spent most of its first five years on the back foot either trying to prevent the cancellation of the "Teaching Allowance" or battling to win-back its memberships arrears. Unfortunately, a more forward looking effort to introduce Negotiating Machinery had stalled and the Union, no doubt fearful of appearing to close to the ruling party, remained quiet over the teachers' continuing practice of charging money for extra tuition.

⁶⁶ It is common for headteachers to spend long periods of time away from their schools. See Chapter 5.

On the whole, it would be true to say that the average Tanzanian teacher was in a better position in 1999 that s/he had been in 1993, and that TTU had played an important role in bringing about this slight change in circumstances. However, TTU was not yet in a position where it could rest on its laurels and it could not afford to be complacent over the profession's public image. The planned strike of 1997 had to be aborted because of the lack of popular support for the teachers' cause, and the Union, by focussing on rights rather than responsibilities had done little to improve teachers' professional conduct.

In the next chapter I will examine TTU's organisational structure and provide an in-depth account of the Union's policies, programmes and performance. I will also evaluate how successful TTU has been at advancing teachers' rights and improving their standard of living at branch, district, region, and national levels. A discussion of the Union's 2000 elections forms the bulk of the chapter, and through my critique of the electoral process I will return to the issue of allowances. Much of the argument is based upon participant observation and my accounts of the Union's face-to-face meetings with government officials are interspersed with analysis, and used to show how TTU has adopted dramaturgical performance as a form of protest and negotiation.

Chapter Four

The Tanzania Teachers Union

“Policy, Programmes, and Performance”

So far our commentary and evaluation of TTU’s performance has focused upon its ability to improve teachers’ representation and financial remuneration through formal bureaucratic means. We have seen how the country’s move towards multi-partyism in the early 1990s paved the way for the OTTU/CHAKIWATA consultations and the formation of TTU, and how Mashanga’s victory in the 1994 union elections, and his subsequent eccentric style of management caused poor employer/employee relations and internal union strife. Prominence has also been afforded in the discussion to how the less combative style of trade unionism adopted under Margaret Sitta strove to soften relations with the establishment and spurred a drive towards the introduction of formal negotiating machinery. In the main this was a profitable strategy for the profession as teachers were able to obtain their own pay scale and win-back a substantial proportion of their back pay. As valuable as this discussion of union “high politics” has been, in order to properly evaluate TTU’s performance it is also essential to look below the national leadership’s negotiations with government and explore its relationship with its own membership.

In this chapter, therefore, I will critique the effectiveness of TTU’s policies, programmes, and performance. This evaluation is based upon the twin criteria of (a) how successful TTU has been in advancing teachers’ welfare and financial remuneration, and (b) how well its policies and programmes have promoted high standards of professional conduct and integrity. The conclusions are drawn from a review of TTU’s own internal literature, interviews with Union representatives at branch, district, region and national levels, and my own observations made while attending TTU meetings. The chapter begins with an analysis of TTU’s constitution and policy documents, and then progresses in a ‘bottom-up’ manner to evaluate how effective each tier of the organisation has been in

implementing Union policy, and ensuring that its activities are in accordance with TTU's guiding principles. Though the conclusions drawn from this review are very much my own I recognise that when it comes to passing verdict on TTU's performance it is the opinions of the rank and file membership that should be given uppermost weight. The section on the Union elections takes the form of a string of connected vignettes in which the analysis is embedded within the storyline. The narrative provides a rich contextual background to my critique of TTU's electoral constitution and process, the level of TTU membership's participation in debate and voter turn-out, the substantive issues addressed during the campaign, candidates' motivations for seeking office, and the strategic implications of the final result.

For TTU to be truly effective, it must earn the respect of its membership and has to be seen to be doing things that improve teachers' position in society. The impression that TTU gives to its membership is vital to its success, and in addition to the development of appropriate policies that reflect teachers' concerns it must also display a number of core competencies. These competencies are (i) the ability to organise and co-ordinate their activities through the establishment of an efficient and cost effective bureaucratic apparatus, (ii) the capacity to encourage grassroot participation in Union activities, and to involve members in the decision making process, (iii) the development of programmes that either improve Union officials' performance or give an immediate financial return for teachers' membership dues, (iv) the ability to set up procedures and protocols that ensure that its representatives have the best interest of the membership at heart, (v) the ability to put in place a fair and open system for officials' selection, election, and financial reimbursement, (vi) the ability to implement a transparent accounting system, and (vii) the ability to advocate teachers' rights in a culturally appropriate manner.

It is with this last core-competency that our evaluation of TTU moves away from a more bureaucratic outcomes based understanding of performance (Davies, 1966, Ananaba 1979) to a more theatrical, impression-led notion of the term. We have already seen how President Mwinyi's style of leadership was characterised by *ad hoc* policy formation, and

ushered in the emergence of competing special interest groups in the country. The re-introduction of *risala* (petition) and *malalamishi* (complaint) as a means of settling disputes (Bryceson, 1993: 195) gave an added prominence to workers' face-to-face interactions with government. Thus, it is not surprising that TTU, founded at the height of *Rhukza*, should place such an emphasis on public meetings with government officials. So far TTU's petitions have been treated as formal written documents. For example, in the last chapter my critique of the Union's *risala* to President Mkapa in Mbeya (Sitta, 1998) discussed TTU's demands as if they were meant to be read silently as part of some formal policy document. To do this is to ignore the fact that these petitions are speeches written to be spoken out loud at a public occasion. In short, they are intended to be performed and are delivered to an audience in a particular theatre of power relations. They are thus oral presentations, and as such audience participation and reaction may influence the speaker to make on-the-spot innovations in response to the audience or current events. Indeed, the term *Rhukza* itself was coined after President Mwinyi's off-the-cuff attempts to calm the mounting religious tensions that had led to killing of two pork butchers in Dar es Salaam (F/N 15/6/2000). Therefore a hermeneutic interrogation of these speeches as texts must consider not just the speakers' motivations and biases, but also the power dynamics surrounding the occasion at which they were delivered.

By 1999 TTU had become very adept at choreographing their face-to-face meetings with government officials by supporting the central message of the *risala* through the use of drama, poetry, songs, ironic humour and activities laden with symbolic meaning. By including these varied techniques in their repertoire of delivery, TTU was re-inventing older traditions of resistance for the new multi party era. Ranger (1975) and Geiger (1997) have shown how traditional *ngoma* (dance) societies were used to drum up popular support for the independence movement, while church groups also have along history of putting across religious messages and social commentary through specially prepared songs sung by a *kwaya* (choir) (Askew, 2002: 249). This relationship between workers and music was continued in an altered form during the socialist period when it

was common for each branch of NUTA⁶⁷ to have its own band playing *dansi* (popular urban music). Here the emphasis was not upon protest but propaganda, as these workers' bands were sponsored by government and used to proselytise the nation in good socialist behaviour by playing their own form of "musical *mwongozo*". Bands such as; "OTTU Jazz", "JKT Kimbunga" (the National Service Army band), "Polisi Jazz" (Dar es Salaam's Police Force band), and the "Vijana Jazz Band" (representing *Umoja wa Vijana* – CCM's Youth League) have all been popular in their time (Askew, 2002: 282-283).

The National Level

Since independence, the ruling party has made strenuous efforts to co-ordinate the political activity of the nation through a complicated spider's web of relationships. This system was intended to provide linkages, "between national leadership and regional and district leadership; between the national leaders and basic village units...between the various regional, district, and branch organisations, both vertically – as orders flow down and information flows up – and horizontally – as different geographical units meet at the same level of the hierarchy" (Bienen, 1967: 81). On its inception, TTU chose to ignore Education International's advice that funds were best directed to the national level where most of the issues about which a union has to negotiate with government are addressed (Tom Bediako, F/N 25/10/2003). Instead, it adopted a similar structure to the state: orchestrating its activities around the placement of its own representatives as counterpoints in the chain of command to government officials. A national headquarters was quickly set up in the OTTU buildings in Mnazi Moja, Dar es Salaam and regional, district and branch offices were established throughout the county. Unfortunately, such a structure was highly expensive to run.

At the top of the Union is the President who is the "Head of the Union" and "principal spokesman" (sic) (TTU, 2000: 31). It is the President's responsibility to "preside over

⁶⁷

See Chapter 2.

all Union meetings and to follow up the implementation of resolutions reached at national meetings” (ibid). Next to the President sit the other members of the “National Executive Committee”⁶⁸ whose functions include the supervision of all Union activities and finances, the implementation of Union policy and resolutions, the development of teacher education and training programmes, and the appointments of union employees (ibid, 30-31). The next tier in the national hierarchy is the “National Council”⁶⁹ which meets once a year to scrutinise the work of the National Executive Committee, review the financial reports, and prepare the election regulations and agenda for the “National Congress” (p.30). In addition to all the members of the National Council, the National Congress also includes all the district chairpersons and secretaries, and one female representative from each region and district. Its primary function is to vote for the members of the National Executive Committee and to pass amendments to the TTU Constitution (pp, 28-29). Due to the huge costs involved in bringing together all the National Congress it usually only meets every three years. However, an extraordinary meeting can be held and two such meetings were held in 1997. The first gathered to expel Peter Mashanga from office, whilst the second convened for the presidential elections.

Even without the extra impediment of internal wrangling, TTU faced many difficulties. The first problem was that of “poor communication” (TTU, 1999: 28) and the Union struggled to find the funds to run regular meetings. A far greater stumbling block was the large number of representatives whose allowances were a particular drain on resources. The third difficulty was at the start TTU did not have an efficient system for collecting membership dues and funds were frequently “misappropriated” (Tom Bediako, F/N 25/10/2003). With echoes of the workers’ complaints levelled against

⁶⁸ As well as the President the National Executive Committee is comprised of the Vice President, the General Secretary, the Deputy General Secretary, the Treasurer, seven zonal members, a handicapped teacher, and women’s representative (TTU, 2000:27).

⁶⁹ The National Council is made up of all the members of the National Executive Committee and all the regional and chairpersons and secretaries (TTU, 2000: 27).

NUTA in 1966 this last issue was potentially most dangerous for a new organisation attempting to acquire credibility amongst its membership, and the seriousness of such offences is fully acknowledged by TTU's senior officials. "You know we have had some occasions when people have misused Union funds, and it pains us greatly. How can somebody cheat one's fellow teachers?" (Yhaya Msulwa, TTU General Secretary, F/N 5/4/2000).

A solution to the problem of collecting union dues was found in January 1996 when a "cut-off" system was introduced (CWT, 1996). Representatives busily ensured that teachers at the district completed the specially prepared mandate forms, and though not everybody signed up the Union had for the first time an accurate record of its membership (See Table 4, for the 2000 Membership figures). Henceforth, monthly membership subscriptions were deducted from teachers' salary slips at source, and the money forwarded directly to TTU. This certainly was a step forward as it provided TTU with a predictable source of income on the basis of which it could plan the budget for its various programmes. However, as a "privilege" and not a "right" the cut-off system put TTU in a potential dilemma, as the government could easily starve the Union of funds in the eventuality of further industrial action by not forwarding on to the Union its membership dues. We shall return to this when we discuss TTU's current policy.

The Union's main source of income, therefore, is its membership dues, with each member paying a monthly fee of 2% of his/her salary (F/N, 17/11/1999). This money is sent directly to the National TTU account and then distributed out to the different levels with 5% going to the National Headquarters, 3% to a national solidarity fund, 10% to the region, 20% to the district, 20% to the branch, 5% to Tanzania Federation of Free Trade Unions, and 37% on leadership salaries and allowances (CWT, 1999: 1-2). The Union's largest recurrent cost, therefore, is the amount of money devoted to Union officials' pay.

Table. 4**TTU Regional Membership 2000**

Region	Potential Membership	Actual Membership	%	Branches
Arusha	7,691	6,717	87.34	139
Dar es Salaam	7,694	4,976	64.67	134
Dodoma	6,500	5,700	87.69	154
Iringa	7,663	7,098	92.63	134
Kagera	7,727	6,661	86.20	147
Kigoma	4,245	4,000	94.23	90
Kilimanjaro	9,155	8,093	88.40	116
Lindi	3,049	2,800	91.83	52
Mara	6,170	5,625	91.13	130
Mbeya	8,808	8,458	96.03	154
Morogoro	7,144	6,233	87.25	146
Mtwara	4,214	3,330	79.02	91
Mwanza	9,847	9,295	94.39	184
Pwani	4,200	3,800	90.48	58
Rukwa	3,752	3,654	97.39	89
Ruvuma	5,331	4,902	91.95	107
Singida	3,729	3,330	89.30	61
Shinyanga	6,636	6,165	92.90	134
Tabora	4,701	3,550	75.52	147
Tanga	7,582	6,376	84.09	89
Total	125,838	110,763	88.02	2356

(Source: Chama cha Walimu Tanzania, 2000: 9)

District secretaries, regional secretaries, and national executive officers working in the Union's headquarters in Dar es Salaam receive a salary. All the Union's other representatives are non-salaried but like the executive officers, are eligible for TTU allowances if their duties take them away from their workstations. Though slightly lower than the government subsistence allowance rates (refer to Table. 3) the payment of representatives' allowances is, nevertheless, a large burden for the Union to carry. By February 2000 regional representatives were receiving 25,000 shillings a day per diem if

their duties caused them to spend a night away in a municipal area such as Dar es Salaam or Arusha, and 20,000 shillings if they stayed in a small town. District representatives on the other hand, were paid at a lower rate of 15,000 shillings for such duties, and occasionally received small daily allowances of 4,000 shillings for attending official district meetings (F/N, 28/2/2000).

TTU's National leadership is aware that the "regional tire"⁷⁰ does not "seem to play an important role in servicing the members" (TTU, 1999: 28). At an extraordinary meeting of the National Congress held in Iringa on the 24th and 25th November 1999 the number of TTU regional representatives that comprise the Regional Steering Committee, were slashed from ten to just five.⁷¹ This removed one hundred representatives from the Union and helped to reduce the amount of money spent on allowances. Despite the brutality of the cull it still fell far short of the national leadership's aspirations. "In Iringa, we actually tried to cancel the regional representatives all together. However, this was almost impossible as many of the people voting were actually regional reps. and were not going to vote themselves out of a job" (Yusuf Msulwa, TTU General Secretary, F/N 5/4/2000). Indeed, as a means of appeasing the besieged regional secretaries the additional post of Zonal Co-ordinator was introduced.

Policy and Partnerships

Back in 1994 there had been a general feeling of good will towards the fledgling TTU from teachers' organisations from within and outwith Africa. As already discussed, Education International (EI) had been midwife at TTU's birth. It was also instrumental in facilitating a donation by the Canadian Teachers Federation (CTF) of a photocopier, computer, and other office equipment to TTU in 1995 (CWT, 2000: 25). In addition to

⁷⁰ The word "tire" is used here instead of "tier" to try and communicate the idea that the region is a flabby weight to carry.

⁷¹ The posts of Deputy Chairperson, Pre-school Representative, Primary School Representative, Secondary School Representative, College Representative, were all cancelled leaving the Secretary, Chairperson, Treasurer, Handicapped Representative and woman representative at the National Congress, and as the five remaining regional union officials (TTU, 2000: 24).

this, EI also played an important role in ensuring TTU joined the All African Teachers Organisation (AATO) and the Southern Africa Teachers Organisation (SATO) in 1995 (ibid, 21).

Unfortunately, TTU did not take full advantage of the advice and support available from these networks and though a few of TTU's national leaders were provided with an opportunity to learn from more experienced trade unionists the knowledge gained never filtered down TTU's poor chain of command. A glaring example of this missed opportunity was the case of the then TTU Secretary, Justinian Rwehumbiza, who was sponsored to attend a 1995 AATO conference in Togo (ibid, 21) and underwent training in organisational development and leadership under the "Thompson Fellowship Programme" in Canada in 1996 (p.25). The insights gained from his *safaris* (journeys) should have been used to develop TTU's internal capacity, but as Rwehumbiza was at that time unable to hold a simple conversation with Mashanga there was little hope of him passing his knowledge on to other TTU representatives (FS, F/N 20/5/2000).

This moribund state of affairs was set to end. Amidst all the turmoil surrounding Mashanga's suspension as TTU President on the 16th August 1996 and his subsequent voting out of office on the 28th April 1997 it is still possible to discern the first positive glimmers of progress. Not only did the new stewardship of Margaret Sitta (President) and Yahya Msulwa (General Secretary) invite the government to breathe new confidence into the labour movement, but it also attracted renewed interest and support to TTU from the wider international teachers' union movement. Perhaps the most significant of these new relationships were the bonds formed with the Danish Union of Teachers (DLF) and the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT).

DLF and KNUT Partnership

The Danish Union of Teachers (DLF) has sponsored training programmes in the Caribbean, Asia, South America and Africa (CWT, 2000) for many years. Under the

inspiration of her International Secretary, Mr. Claus Staehelin, an appraisal mission was launched in 1995 to examine the “true situation of education and the welfare of teachers” (Shani, 1999: 2) in Tanzania. The exercise also set out to determine if there were any areas in which DLF could support directly TTU. In December 1996 DLF visited Tanzania again, sending representatives to Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro regions to see what assistance TTU required to help improve its service to its membership (ibid, 23). The results of this research were both financially and politically favourable to TTU’s interim leadership as it concluded that because almost all of TTU’s leaders came directly from the classroom they lacked both experience and knowledge of trade union affairs. It was therefore decided that there was an urgent need to embark upon a Leadership Education Programme for regional and district TTU secretaries. Before TTU’s National Executive could begin this programme of improving the capacity of district and regional offices it had first to put its own house in order by ensuring that the central office had clear aims and objectives on which to base their activities.

This process began with the convening of the Dodoma Policy Workshop in April 1997. Jointly Sponsored by DLF and the Danish Trade Union Council for trade Union Development Programmes (LO-FTF), it brought together TTU regional secretaries, members from TTU’s National Executive Council, representatives from TTU Headquarters and the Tanzania Teachers’ Service Commission, and resource persons from DLF, LO-FTF and KNUT (TTU, 1997: iii).

The choice of KNUT as an early partner in TTU’s capacity building programmes was in many ways a logical one, and it is clear that TTU had much to learn from its more experienced elder brother. Founded on the 4th December 1957 at Pumwani school in Nairobi (Lubulela, 1999: 31) KNUT has a long tradition of trying to advance teachers’ rights within a predominant party system, and went through many of the same processes that TTU would experience in the 1990s some thirty years before. Like TTU, KNUT’s early years were marred by industrial action. In 1962 a 21 day long general strike was called to press for a single employer for all teachers and in the same way that CCM came

down on Mashanga and other strike leaders in 1994 many officials were arrested in Kenya (ibid, 32). Despite this a Teachers' Service Commission in Kenya was officially established in 1967 (p.32) and in more recent times KNUT has been active in trying to negotiate significant pay increases.

By co-operating with both the international community and a government department TTU was effectively drawing a line under the past, and in his forward to the 1997 "*Tanzania Teachers Union Policy*" Yahya Msulwa could not forego the opportunity to make a passing swipe at the outgoing leadership. "Clear as the Union's aims and objectives are, activities of the Union were carried out in a mixed vision and interpretation for the last two and a half years. There was a missing national link in that no statements of intent has (sic) been stipulated to lead the formation of action programmes throughout the country. Thus the need for a TTU Policy. The TTU Policy provides a vision for the Union. It gives a guide and direction for all future Union activities" (TTU, 1997: i). TTU policy outlines the Union's following guiding aims:

- To promote the dignity and status of the teaching profession including the observation of the highest form of morality, understanding, knowledge and skills.
- To observe, promote and protect the welfare and conditions of service of the teachers and staff in education institutions and ensure that there is enough incentive and conducive environment which motivate teachers to observe professional ethics.
- To encourage academic and professional know how of the actors who give service to schools, colleges and all sections which deal with education.
- To be the source/centre of publication for advancing the teachers, the members and citizens.
- To encourage teachers to carry out their work effectively and to emphasise them to be a symbol of good work, neatness, good character and behaviour.
- To assemble teachers from time to time so that they may discuss about the development and problems in their disciplines. Strictly thus, TTU is non-partisan, and it operates in the principles of democracy and trade unionism (TTU, 1997: i).

After the Dodoma NEC policy workshop, representatives were to meet again in December 1997 at Masoka, Kilimanjaro, for a planning workshop. Here it was agreed that the “Teacher Leadership Training Programme” would have a three-year Phase 1 stage in which it would focus upon improving the performance of regional and district secretaries in 5 regions, Mwanza, Kilimanjaro, Mbeya, Mtwara and Singida (Shani, 1999: 3). Depending upon the success of Phase 1, Phase 2 would then consist of an additional three year period in which secretaries from the remaining 15 regions would be trained (ibid).

Unfortunately, despite the urgent need for training the TTU/DLF-LO/FTF/EI project was not launched until the 15th April, 1999 when a project workshop was held at the TANESCO training Institute in Morogoro. There it was further envisioned that the Phase 2 would also include a scheme to train primary school teachers with a grade “B” certificate up to grade “A” level. The reason for the delay was that since taking office the new leadership had simply taken on too much on. The ongoing dispute over the payment of the backlog of allowances had put the Union’s leadership on a back foot and had almost completely swallowed up all the hours of the working week for the district secretaries. While the aborted 1997 strike action over the cancellation of the “Teaching Allowance” had dwindled resources further, and distracted the leadership’s attention from more long-term capacity building.

The Swedish Teachers Union (Läraförbundet)

Equally important as training TTU representatives has been the need to ensure that the Union’s rank and file understood their rights. The changes in teachers’ terms and conditions of service brought about by the establishment of the Teachers’ Service Commission in 1989 had never been properly understood by the vast majority of serving teachers, and in order to help them in the mammoth task of membership education TTU acquired, through EI, the assistance of the Swedish Teachers Union. The chosen method of delivery was the “study circle”.

Tanzania Federation of Free Trade Unions

Throughout the duration of my fieldwork in Tanzania TTU kept up its membership of the Tanzania Federation of Free Trade Unions (TFTU) and until late 2000 contributed 5% of its income to this workers' umbrella organisation (CWT, 1999: 2). Within this partnership TTU was to benefit from the repeal of the "Organisation of Tanzania Trade Unions (OTTU) Act" of 1991 (The United Republic of Tanzania, Act No.20 of 1991) and the passing of the 1998 "Trade Union Act" (The United Republic of Tanzania, Act. No.10 of 1998). Most importantly this new piece of legislation provided provisions by which, "one or more registered trade unions may form or break a federation of trade unions" (ibid, 146).

Tensions between TFTU and its affiliated unions had been simmering throughout the 1990s as its independent members had been growing ever more frustrated by the federation's lack of democratic accountability, as they had no say in the selection of TFTU representatives. The free trade unions had, therefore, been seeking a way by which they could finally dissolve TFTU and break the links between the government and the labour movement. Their over-riding aim was to ensure that any new federation's leaders represented one or other of the independent free trade unions, and were selected in accordance to principles of representational democracy. The final writing was on the wall for TFTU at the May Day celebrations of 2000, when its General Secretary, Bruno Mpangala, chose not to read from the *risala* which had been agreed upon by the affiliated members (TFTU, 2000) but to make his own independent speech. After the Tanzanian General Election in October 2000, TFTU was eventually disbanded and the new Tanzania Trade Union Congress (TUC). This ended a period of nearly forty years of party control over the labour movement which had begun with the foundation of NUTA in 1964.

Mpangala's speech highlights two very important characteristics of performance. First, "genres of performance are...both fundamentally *interactive* and inherently *risky*. There is always something aesthetically and/or practically at stake in them, and something can always go wrong" (Schefflin, 1996: 72, cited in Askew 2002: 5). Second, that the real meaning of a performance is not always what it seems, and that subversion itself can also be subverted. As a union representative one might have expected Mpangala's *risala* to be a subaltern discourse of demands, but instead it was used to exercise power within the labour movement.

Despite Mkapa's protestations to the contrary, "*sifanyi kampeni ya kipindi cha pili*" ("I am not conducting a campaign for a second term") his own speech on the 1st May, 2000 has to be understood within the context of the forthcoming general election (Mkapa, 2000: 2). Surprisingly, it offers no pre-election promise of salary increases but instead argues that under his presidency employment had increased and workers' welfare improved (ibid, 2). It argues that since taking office his government had been able to raise public revenue two-fold from 27 billion shilling a month in 1995 to 55 billion shillings a month by 2000 (p.9). To some this might have seemed a dubious boast as this extra income was a direct result of increased tax collection. However, he was able to claim that this money had helped to reduce the budget deficit, improve the nation's infrastructure, and stem the rate of inflation (pp. 9-10).

What Mkapa does not mention, however, is how the government's emphasis on tight fiscal control had led to an "*ufinyu wa bajeti*" ("budget Squeeze") that controlled individual ministries' spending on developmental projects. As Charles Kalugula, the MOEC's Director of Policy and Planning explained to me as of June 2000 24.5 % of the National income was spent on education (F/N, 13/6/2000). However, as the government can only spend what it has collected monthly in tax revenue the "cash budget" is "very hand to mouth" (ibid). The top priority of a "cash budget" is salaries and the payment of which is mandatory. According to Mary Mushi, the Permanent Secretary of the MOEC,

95% of all recurrent costs in the primary school sector are spent on teachers' salaries (F/N, 2/6/2000). While for secondary school teachers, tutors at the colleges of education, and the inspectorate 65% of recurrent costs are taken up by salaries. Here again the salary allocation can not "alter dramatically, and the figure is not buoyant" (Charles Kalugula, F/N 13/6/2000).

A large section of Mkapa's speech is devoted to privatisation (Mkapa, 2000: 14-21). Between 1980 and 1990 employment in the industrial sector fell by 30% (ibid, 14) and there was extreme shortage of a basic commodities. This led to extreme economic hardship and contributed to erosion in the standards of conduct and increases in incidents of corruption (p.14). However, due to privatisation, employment in various sectors had grown. For example, the number of those employed in the clothing industry shot up from around 6,000 in 1980 to approximately 30,000 in 1996 (p.16). Moreover, the more recent privatisation of the brewing sector saw employment double from around 900 workers in 1994 to 1,890 workers in 2000 (p.18).

This overall increase in the numbers of Tanzanians engaged in formal employment went hand-in-hand with regular increases in the national minimum wage. In 1996 the minimum wage was raised from 5,000 shillings to 17,500 shillings a month. At the 1999 National Workers' day celebrations in Morogoro it was raised again to a figure of 30,000 shillings a month (p.23). Government workers also saw their minimum wage increase during the same period as it grew from the lowly sum of 17,500 shillings in 1995 to 41,000 shillings in 1999 (p.23). To emphasise his argument that "Workers have never had it so good!" Mkapa's speech also discussed the results of a shopping basket survey in Dodoma, that compared the purchasing power of a worker on the national minimum wage in 1995 with the purchasing power of his/her equivalent in 2000 (See Table. 5). For example, in 1995 a Tanzanian worker's minimum wage was enough to buy 83kgs of maize a month. In 2000 the same worker on the minimum wage could buy

Table.5

**Comparison of the Price of Goods and the Purchasing Power
of the Minimum Wage, 1995 to 2000**

Product	Amount	Price 1995 (Sh.)	Price 2000 (Sh.)	Purchasing Power of Minimum wage 1995 (5,000 Sh)	Purchasing Power of Minimum Wage 2000 (30,000 Sh)	% Increase In Purchasing Power
Maize	Kilo	60	100	83kg	300kg	261
Maize Flour	Kilo	200	300	25kg	100kg	300
Rice	Kilo	300	400	17kg	75kg	341
Flour	Kilo	350	300	14kg	100kg	614
Beans	Kilo	380	500	13kg	60kg	362
Beef	Kilo	700	900	7kg	33kg	376
Goat	Kilo	800	1,200	6kg	25kg	317
Dagaa	Kilo	800	800	6kg	37kg	525
Fresh Fish	Kilo	800	1,000	6kg	30kg	400
Tomatoes	Kilo	200	500	25kg	60kg	140
Onions	Kilo	300	600	17kg	50kg	194
Sugar	Kilo	360	420	14kg	71kg	410
Salt	Kilo	160	240	31kg	125Kg	303
Milk	Litre	250	300	20litres	100litres	400
Charcoal	Sack	1,000	2,000	5 Sacks	15 Sacks	200
Kanga	Pair	2,500	3,500	2 Pairs	9 Pairs	350
Bar of Soap	-	350	400	14 Bars	75 Bars	436
Exercise Book	-	40	100	125 Books	300 Books	140
Pencil	-	20	20	250	1,500	500
Corrugated Sheeting 30g/3Metre	-	4,800	4,500	1 Sheet	7 Sheets	600
Concrete	50Kg	4,200	5,500	1 Bag	5 Bags	400
Nails	Kilo	500	550	10kg	55kg	450
Hammer 10mm	-	2,800	2,800	1.8	10.7	494
Bicycle	-	40,000	65,000	8 salaries	2 salaries	264
Rent	1 Room	2,000	4,000	2 Rooms	7 Rooms	250

(Source: adapted from Mkapa 2000: 41)

300 kgs of maize. The table shows similar increases in the purchasing power of the minimum wage for all the commodities listed.

Table 5 can also be used to calculate the purchasing power of a Tanzanian teacher's salary in 1995 and 2000. After the inclusion of "Teaching Allowance" into the salary in 1995 a Grade A primary school teacher entering the profession had a starting salary of 18,215 shillings (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, (Ofisi ya Rais)*, 1995). This would have been enough (using table five's figures) to purchase 303 kgs of maize. In 2000 a Grade A teacher entering the profession had a starting salary of 55,070 shillings a month (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, (Ofisi ya Rais)*, 1999) and would be able to purchase 514.8 kgs of maize. This increase in the salary's purchasing power shows that a Tanzanian teacher's lot had greatly improved during President Mkapa's time in office.

Teachers' Savings and Credit Societies

As well as occasional government per diems, teachers also have access to loans from their own *vyama vya kuweka na kukopa* (savings and credit societies). In 1998 the Tanzanian and Plantation and Agricultural Workers' Union (TPAWU) as part of its "*Mpango wa kuendeleza Wanawake katika Mashamba Makubwa*" (MWEMA) ("Programme to uplift Women in the Plantation Sector") commissioned research into how women plantation workers could improve their standard of living (TPAWU General Secretary, F/N, 7/4/2000). The vast majority of these women were paid the national minimum wage and the report concluded that these women faced many problems when considering setting up a business (Kafanabo, 1998).

Firstly, their low salaries meant that they had little capital to begin income-generating projects. Secondly, the women were working long hours and "were faced with the multiple roles both as mothers and workers" (p.14) and had little time to run other businesses. Thirdly, as the women had little or no formal schooling they lacked the technical skills required to run a business, and many were scared to invest in income

generating activities. Kafanabo concluded that as it would be too expensive to provide the women with micro-enterprise training the best course of action for TPAWU was to “assist women improve their income” through MWEMA’s “facilitation of a savings and credit society” (p.18).

(S)avings and credit societies offer credit to meet family needs, e.g. paying school fees, buying furniture etc. Savings and credit societies teach women to save regularly and at the same time provide an opportunity for the women to own the society through purchase of shares...Such societies are open to every women for as long as she buys a share which is always prices (sic) in such a manner that is affordable...Since in credit and savings societies one borrows against one’s savings, the member will be diligent in loan disbursements and repayments (Kafanabo, 1998: 17-18).

The TPAWU model of income support has been adopted across the Tanzanian Trade Union Movement. Although teachers’ have in the main higher levels of education than women plantation workers (and in the case of male teachers at least more time available in the school holidays to take care of their private income generating projects) TTU had by May 2000 helped set up savings and credit societies in 85 districts (TTU, 2000: 31).

Tunakopesha Ltd.

The rates of interest that are offered by teachers’ own credit and savings societies are preferable to those offered elsewhere. Tunakopesha Ltd. is an organisation, which was originally set up in Kenya in 1988 to provide loans for goods to civil servants. It came to Tanzania in 1993 and has an arrangement with the government to offer things (not money) such as televisions, cookers, beds etc. to civil servants and have the debt repayments deducted from their salaries (NJ, Managing Director of Tunakopesha Ltd. Tanzania, F/N 13/4/2000). Its rate of interest on a loan in April 2000 was 28%. This figure is 4% higher than the average bank interest rates at the time, and though it would have liked to have offered a more competitive rate it could not because it had too many defaulters. As NJ again explains.

Yes a lot of Tanzanians are not credit worthy! There is this Swahili saying which goes, '*Kukopa Arusi Nakulipa Matanga*' ('To borrow is like a wedding and to pay is like mourning'). If we didn't have so many defaulters we would have lower interest rates. Some teachers abscond from the profession and we can't find them. Somebody might be teaching in Dar and then goes back home to say Kigoma. They might have taken out a loan of 50,000. But to hire a lawyer and the police to help find them would cost 200,000. So it's like throwing good money after bad. Another problem is retrenchment. A bigger problem is cheating. Some might have a friend in the Ministry and they get them to punch in the wrong numbers into the computer so somebody else gets the deduction... Sometimes the ministries might take our deductions from their workers pay and then use it to pay their own bills. The ministries are on the game and they are sleeping together in a bunk bed with our defaulters. You see ministry staff aren't in the same place all the time and it's difficult to build a permanent relationship with us (NJ, F/N 13/4/2000).

This is an example of the more corrosive side of Tanzanian teachers' behind the scenes performance, and if their less than honourable conduct restricts their access to low interest loans, it also forms an impediment to future pay increases.

Upgrading

In the mid-1990s the Government laid out its vision for teacher development in the publication of its "*Education and Training Policy*" document (United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995). The document makes the admission that the rapid expansion of primary school enrolment under the 1974 UPE programme⁷² was only achieved by the recruitment of poorly trained Grade C/B teachers.⁷³

Most Grade C/B teachers have neither a satisfactory knowledge base in academic subjects nor an adequate professional training. Although the commitment to teaching of Grade C/B teachers has been commendable, there exists the necessity to raise the level of primary school education through the development of more academically and professionally qualified teachers.

⁷² See Chapter 2.

⁷³ To clarify, a grade C teacher is one who holds a teaching certificate and a primary school leavers' certificate. Grade B teachers are those who hold a teaching certificate and have either completed form two or were awarded poor grades in their form four examinations.

Therefore: Minimum qualification for a primary school teacher shall be possession of a valid Grade A Teacher Education Certificate (United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1995: 38).

In an attempt to implement the policy the MOEC warned grade B and C primary school teachers that if they did not upgrade themselves by 2001/2002 they would be expelled from the profession. This caused two problems for those teachers in need of upgrading. First, they would have to pay for their training out of their own pockets, and secondly, they would have to find a centre at which they could study for their "O" levels. Some teachers have solved the first problem by obtaining a loan from their district savings and credit societies. However, the second problem is too big for the individual to solve.

As part of TTU's action programme for maintaining "professionalism in the teaching profession" the Union prioritised the need to "offer advice and assistance to the Ministry of Education and Culture to work out and implement an action plan for up-grading of untrained and under-qualified teachers" (TTU, 1997: 9). Implementation of this objective occurred in October 1998 when TTU helped to establish the Primary Education Network (PEN) in Dar es Salaam. Its focus is upon providing classes for upgrading teachers so that they can obtain the necessary "O" level grades to go on to college, and has both a National and Regional permit, allowing it to run upgrading classes to practising Grade B/C teachers.

Partnerships with Civil Society Organisations

As valuable as TTU's relationships with foreign teachers' trade unions have been, the Union has struggled to build effective bridges within Tanzania's own non-governmental sector (Swai, 2000: 46). Part of the reason for this lack of dialogue has been that like the trade union movement itself some of Tanzania's more prominent organisations have found it difficult to adapt their relationship with CCM to the new system of multiparty democracy. Despite making a policy commitment that TTU "should encourage good co-operation with Parents and/or Teacher Associations" there is a perception within TTU

that organisations such as TPA (Tanzania Parents Association) remain too close to the ruling party. “You know TPA is very much a CCM organisation” (AN, F/N 5/4/2000). By 2000, this situation was beginning to change as TTU had just become a member of the Tanzania Education Network (TEN), and was slowly consolidating its relationship with TEN’s Secretariat *Maarifa ni Unfunquo* (Knowledge is the Key).

TTU’s participation in TEN provides an opportunity for teachers’ voices to be heard on broader educational concerns (TTU, 1997: 11) and in 2000 the Union was on the brink of becoming a central player within the network. One issue of central concern to TTU is Universal Primary Education. At Education International’s 1998 World Congress EI committed itself to promoting “as a matter of priority, universal quality public education” and with Oxfam International, Action Aid, and the Global March against Child Labour started the “*Global Campaign for Education*” (Swai, 2000: 37). The “*Global Campaign for Education*” was intended to put teachers’ concerns at the heart of the UPE agenda and influence the forthcoming 2000 meeting of the “*World Education Forum*” in Dakar, Senegal. On the 30th November 1999 EI’s General Secretary, Fred van Leeuwen, wrote to all federated member unions requesting that they lobby their national governments in support of the aims of the Global Campaign for Education Mission Statement (Ibid). The mission statement called for the following measures.

- Free and compulsory, quality education for all children, for at least eight years, and a second chance for adults who missed out.
- Increased provision of quality early childhood education and care.
- Increased public expenditure on education to least 6% of GNP, and new resources through aid and debt relief for the poorest countries.
- An end to child labour.
- Democratic participation of, and accountability to civil society, including teachers and their unions, in education decision making at all levels.

- Reform of International Monetary Fund and World Bank structural adjustment policies to ensure they support rather than undermine free, quality education.
- Fair and regular salaries for teachers, properly equipped classrooms and supply of quality textbooks.
- Inclusive and non-discriminatory provision of services for all (Cited in Swai, 2000: 39).

A cynic might say that TTU's support of Global Campaign for Education is motivated by self interest, as it would provide teachers with long-term job security and the Union with a steady flow of new members. Though it is true that there would be "no teachers without students" TTU has actually put the interests of society first here as there can be little doubt that if implemented "quality education for all" would place new work load pressures upon the profession.⁷⁴ It is also evidence to what the Chief Regional Co-ordinator for Education International Africa, Tom Bediako, described as the need for teachers' unions to have a commitment to the "greater social purpose" of quality education for all.⁷⁵ By participating in the campaign TTU can do much to bolster its public image, and hence in the long term create popular support for their pay-demands.

Importantly, the "*Global Campaign for Education*" views the provision of fair and regular teacher salaries to be an essential part of quality education, and demands that teachers and their unions play a strong role in the decision making process. These concerns contrast sharply with the consensus reached at Dakar during the 26 – 28 April 2000 which, unfortunately, does not include the need for strong teachers' unions in the six goals of the "*Dakar Framework for Action*."

- expanding and improving early childhood care and education;

⁷⁴ See Chapter 6.

⁷⁵ Remark made by Mr. Bediako during his speech to the inaugural conference of the "Commonwealth Consortium for Education" held in Edinburgh on the 24th and 25th October 2003.

- ensuring that all children have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality by 2015;
- ensuring that young people and adults have access to learning and life-skills programmes;
- achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015; especially for women;
- eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015; and
- improving all aspects of the quality of education (World Education Forum, 2000).

Having completed my discussion of TTU's national programmes and international partnerships I would now like to discuss the Union's activities at branch, district, and regional levels.

The Branch

The *tawi* (branch) is the most basic unit of union organisation and has provided TTU with a visible presence at grass-root level. Consisting of at least 36 teachers, a branch may be a single school with a large teaching establishment (such as my principal field-site Morogoro Secondary school: a "double-shift" urban secondary) or two or more small institutions which are usually primary schools clustered together (F/N, 17/11/1999). The distinction between educational level (whether the branch contains primary, secondary and/or tertiary teachers) is more important than that of size. This is partly due to fluctuations in the number of teachers working at the school at any given time and partly because of the accessibility of the employer. With the exception of secondary school teachers working close to the MOEC in Dar es Salaam only primary school teachers have the opportunity for regular face-to-face communication with their employer, who is either the Municipal Director of Work or the Regional Administrative Secretary.

This has mixed implications for the different kinds of TTU branch. In the case of a secondary school TTU branch with experienced representatives, a teacher wishing to communicate with the employer over a professional matter may gain all the necessary advice s/he needs at her/his workstation and thus bypass the services of the district TTU office altogether. Conversely, a primary school teacher whose branch representatives are weak may choose to ignore the advice immediately at hand and go straight to either the employer or to the TTU district offices; thus rendering the branch obsolete. The roles of TTU branch and district union officials become even more blurred when there is a particularly capable District Chairman (such as OM in Morogoro) who is well known to his fellow teachers and constantly on hand to pass on advice. Such a situation is a clear duplication of work and places a question mark against the function of branch officials.

As well as these rather obvious variations in size and level a branch's effectiveness is also influenced by the headteacher(s)/college principal's attitude towards the Union, its location, its members' politicisation, and whether it has in its midst any members who hold higher union office. The last two points relate directly to the branch body's level of understanding and experience of trade unionism and their working knowledge of the TSC terms and regulations of service. Despite the efforts of the Swedish Teachers Union's "study circles" only a small number of branch representatives have benefited from the programme and without the daily contact with other union representatives there may be no peers within the vicinity to pass on the insights of the course.

It is important that branch representatives ensure that regular meetings of the "branch congress" are held. These meetings are supposed to form a valuable link between the branch and district, and are intended to ensure that the grass root membership has an opportunity to discuss the Union's policies and programmes. It is also hoped that these meetings will contribute to a flow of information upwards, and provide a mechanism by which the rank and file's concerns can be brought to the attention of union

representatives. As important as these meeting are perceived to be, branches differ greatly in the adherence of the TTU's Constitution's stipulations that annual meetings should be held to discuss the branch's activities and financial report (TTU, 2000: 14). In the two Morogoro branches which I researched neither were written reports of Union activities nor written financial records produced. Moreover, it was clear that in one of these branches at least the only time the "branch congress" had met was for the purpose of the elections.

If it is questionable whether government teachers receive value for the 20% of their Union dues distributed to the branches, it is evidently the case that those TTU members working in private schools gain nothing from this tier of union activity. Ideally, I would have liked to have investigated a private school TTU branch as part of my research methodology. However, the fact is that although TTU has identified the need "to make more recruitment drives" (TTU, 1999: 28) in the private sector there were no private school branches in the Morogoro Region. The reason for this may well be that many private schools fail to pay their teachers salaries on time because they struggle to retrieve monies owed to them by parents. As a knock-on affect of this, they fear that union involvement in their schools might form an alternative source of power in the institution and bring to the surface shortcomings of this type.⁷⁶ Morogoro's District TTU Secretary, SM, informed me of a situation in 1998 when a "very good" TTU branch at a local private secondary school was closed down because the headteacher "used tactics" to terminate the teachers' contracts (SM, F/N 17/11/1999).⁷⁷ Teachers are thus reluctant to join the Union because they fear for their jobs and might not have their contracts extended. SM also suggested to me that if I were to ask another prominent private school headteacher about the Union he would say "*Chama gani!*" ("What

⁷⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the difficulties faced by private school teachers in Morogoro see the section "Kingurunyembe Secondary" in Chapter 5.

⁷⁷ As we shall see in Chapter 5 private school headteachers have very broad contractual powers.

Union!”) (ibid). As the discussion of the branch elections reveal, it is not just private headteachers who hold a negative attitude towards TTU.

Branch Elections

Before discussing the branch elections I feel it maybe useful to clarify my own reasons for devoting so much time to the TTU elections. Clearly by attending the elections I was giving myself an opportunity to observe “democracy in action” and to witness the Union at a time of heightened debate and transparency. The elections were also the time when annual reports were prepared and debated, and I was able to profit from this rich supply of written documents. Perhaps more importantly than this, however, were the reactions and asides of the Union’s electorate, which served as an immediate oral commentary and were as much a part of the Union’s performance as the details of TTU’s programmes, training, and credit schemes. More specifically my reasons researching the elections were as follows.

1. I wanted to observe whether TTU was a genuinely democratic organisation; and if its elections were corruption-free, fair and aboveboard.
2. I hoped that the elections would allow me an opportunity to gauge the amount of participation at each level.
3. I hoped that the hustings would give me a better understanding of the different personalities within the Union, and allow me an opportunity to hear teachers debate factors effecting their lives, work and Union policy.
4. I expected that by following the elections from branch to national level I would be in a better position to explore the linkages between different Union tiers.

Since the extraordinary TTU presidential election of 1997, TTU’s leadership has placed great emphasis on developing an electoral process that is both democratic and transparent. The cancellation due to shortage of funds of the branch, district, and region elections in that year watered down Margaret Sitta’s credibility as president, and contravened one of its soon to be published key policy goals, namely that; “TTU shall

operate on the basis of a representative democracy” (TTU, 1997: 14). It also ensured that incumbent representatives were to hold office uncontested for a longer period than the constitutional three years (TTU, 1999: 34). After ratifying the changes to the Union’s constitution decided upon at the 1999 Iringa meeting TTU produced a document outlining the procedures for the 2000 elections (CWT, 1999). In it each district secretary was then tasked to ensure that its membership were conversant with its prescriptions (ibid, 9). On Friday 14th January 2000 Morogoro District TTU held a meeting at which each section of the document was explained to the branch representatives. At the end of this meeting a timetable giving the date and time for each branch was distributed (F/N, 14/1/2000).

In order to contest one of the four posts that make up the “Branch Steering Committee”⁷⁸ prospective candidates should fill out a form in triplicate explaining which post they intended to contest; their educational background and their reasons for contesting (CWT, 1999: 12). Along with this form the contestant would also have to provide a list of ten member’s signatures (ibid, 14). To ensure that both the candidate and his/her backers were *bona fide* union members these forms would then be checked against a list of branch members drawn up by the branch secretary, and then scrutinised again by the district secretary (p.3).

Morogoro Teachers’ College TTU Branch

Morogoro Teachers’ College branch is peculiar in that it includes both tertiary level lecturers and primary school teachers working at the adjacent *shule ya mazoezi* (practising school). One might think that the branch would be dominated by the better qualified lecturers but that was not the case as the majority of teachers who either contested for a position or turned out to vote came from the primary school. According to the college principal this is because, “The majority of CWT members are primary

⁷⁸ The Branch Steering Committee consists of a Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and one female teacher representative (TTU, 2000: 13).

school teachers and our tutors feel that the Union can't help them. Most of the tutors here have no need of a union as they have their own houses" (OM, F/N 3/2/2000).

Branch Elections – Thursday 27th January 2000

Whether this is true or not there is little doubt that the branch elections were disorganised and lacklustre. Illustrative of the branch's general apathy was that when I arrived at the college on Election Day nobody seemed sure if it was going to be held. Indeed, the election nearly did not take place at all as permission was not granted until the last minute when the official overseer, the district chairperson, arrived and spoke directly with the principal (F/N, 27/1/2000). As the date of election had been clearly marked on the district election timetable the confusion would seem to suggest either general incompetence or that nobody from the branch had attended the district meeting of the 14th January. When the election did eventually take place only 26 of the 46 members turned out and the Principal declined an invitation to officially open the proceedings, "I really would have done but I was busy that day" (OM, F/N 3/2/2000).

The election procedure was the same for each post. First all candidates would leave the room and then would be called in one at a time to talk for three minutes. After they had delivered their election pitch, opportunity would be given to answer up to three questions from the floor. I had hoped that the elections would have taken the form of "hustings" but in fact very few people used the full three minutes. All began with a brief history of their education and said very little else. One candidate standing for the post of secretary merely said, "*Ninagombea kwa sababu nina haki kugombea*" ("I am contesting because I have a right to contest"), and sat down again. Thankfully, he did not win! The general level of questioning was equally unpenetrating and the only thing I learnt from most contestants was that if elected they would "co-operate" with their fellow teachers, and that the branch had not held a single meeting in five years. However, it was interesting that the incumbent treasurer was voted out of office,

suggesting if nothing else that members had some interest in who was actually handling their money (F/N, 27/1/2000).

Morogoro Secondary School TTU Branch

As district TTU chairman, OM, puts it “Morogoro Sec. is a completely different branch to the Teachers college” (F/N, 27/1/2000). Active during the 1999/94 strike Morogoro secondary school teachers are highly politicised, and the old headmaster, Mr. Iddi Maronga, had been a private benefactor to the Union in 1996 (F/N, 29/3/2000). This tradition has been passed on as participation in union activities is encouraged by the active involvement of the current headmaster. Like his predecessor he joined TTU back in 1994 and had been before that a long serving member of JUWATA (F/N, 10/2/2000). His active involvement contrasts sharply with that of the college principal, and it is clear that there is a strong correlation between the support offered by the head and the strength of the branch. This relationship was recognised at the Iringa meeting when the pressing need to “*elimisha wakuu wa shule*” (“educate heads of school”) about TTU became a national union priority (SM, F/N, 27/1/2000).

The branch also boasts two members who hold TTU offices at higher level and help in advising members of their rights and TTU policy, and communicating branch members’ concerns up to the district and region. An interesting example of this can be seen by the role played by MK. A previous TTU woman’s representative at Kilakala Secondary school, and at the time of the 2000 election a district and regional TTU representative for secondary schools, she was able to use a concrete example from Morogoro Secondary to highlight a blatant piece of gender discrimination in the TSC Terms and conditions of service. “One example relates to the *nauli ya lekiso*.⁷⁹ At Morogoro Sec. we have two teachers who are husband and wife. When it comes to the time of home

⁷⁹ The bus or train fare paid to teachers paid after two years to teachers on home leave.

leave the government pays the fare for the husband, his wife and children. However, when it is the wife's turn the government only pays for her!" (MK, F/N, 25/11/1999).

Morogoro Secondary branch has been able to run a number of small-scale projects. The first is a hardship fund for teachers whereby branch members can borrow loans from 5,000 to 20,000 shillings. The loan is usually given instantly when members are in urgent need, for example in cases of medical expenses, and is supposed to be paid back within three months with an additional 10% interest. However, when the teacher is experiencing genuine financial difficulties either the interest may be waived or the date of repayment delayed (F/N, 21/11/1999). A second project is aimed at bolstering the branch funds and involves the selling to students of badges that depict the school emblem. (ibid) The badges can be sewn on to the pupils' shirts, and by the date of the election the project had earned a healthy profit of 174,240 shillings (F/N, 10/2/2000).

Branch Elections –Thursday 10th February 2000

Though not every one of the 53 member strong branch attended the election there was certainly a high turn out. This was good to see as the Union is often accused of catering more to the needs of the primary school teachers.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, however the mood was soon to turn sour with the out going Branch Steering Committee's delivery of their report. As the treasurer read the report and it soon became clear that despite the profit accrued from the school badge project and the 160,000 shillings paid to the branch each year from its members' contributions the accounts were in the red. It appears that the first-term committee had been particularly profligate with branch funds spending over 70,000 shillings on the organisation and refreshments of one branch meeting, and over 43,000 shillings on photocopying. This last figure was particularly large and seemed to some members improbable as the committee had failed to make copies of the financial report. One angry female teacher shouted out "*Vikau vinatumia pesa sana!*" ("Meetings

⁸⁰

See the payment of secondary school teachers' arrears in Chapter 3.

use up a lot of money!”). Another female teacher asked the question, “*Mbona matumizi ni zaidi kuliko mapato?*” (“Why is the expenditure greater than the income?”). The answer to this question was never given but it was explained that some of the initial loans offered by the branch in 1994 had not been repaid as the teachers had now moved on. Indeed, it was even rumoured that the treasurer had been giving loans to her friends who were not members of the Union, and that this money had mysteriously disappeared (F/N 3/2/2000). Given the heated exchanges surrounding the financial report it is surprising how quickly the actual election was concluded. As with the college branch, the election procedure was followed in accordance with the constitution, and there was no evidence of foul play. Not surprisingly, the treasurer failed in her attempt at re-election.

General Evaluation of the TTU Branch

As there are 16 TTU branches in Morogoro Municipal district and 149 in the region as a whole (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 9) the above evaluation can in no way be considered an exhaustive study. However, it would seem reasonable to suggest that some of the inherent weaknesses of these two Morogoro branches may be replicated elsewhere, and that if this is indeed the case TTU’s leadership needs to consider whether it is cost-effective to continue the current level of funding. It would seem to me that the Union has two choices available to it: Either to embark upon a whole-scale-training programme or to reduce the branch’s proportion of Union dues.

Though it is difficult to deny the value of the “hardship fund” and the need to court the sympathies of headteachers, members seem to gain little out of costly branch meetings. Indeed, Morogoro Municipal District has seen little improvement as a result of the courses it has already ran with branch representatives on leadership, branch account keeping, and the rights of female teachers (CWT, Morogoro Manispaa, 2000: 1). I fear that the Union may have to risk alienating branch representatives by the introduction of an annual audit, a reduction in the size of branch contributions and a slimming down of the Branch Steering Committee. Like the attempt to cancel the “regional tire” at Iringa

the last proposal would be very controversial as sitting representatives would be reluctant to lose out on the allowances currently available to them for attendance at district meetings. The obvious posts to go would be that of female representative and chairperson. However, it is important to be aware that there is also a political angle to be considered, as there is a belief within the Union that Margaret Sitta has benefited from the votes of female representatives and might be reluctant to weaken the ground base of her support.

The District

Whereas the cost-effectiveness of directing such a large proportion of Union dues to the branches seems to suggest a reduction, there can be little doubt of the vital function played by the district offices. With the possible exception of those teachers living close to TTU's national headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Union members have on a daily basis most dealings with the district office. This is especially true for primary school teachers employed at the district level, and for those members of the profession working in the municipality.

Vital to the success of district office is the multifaceted role of the district secretary and his/her relationship with the District Chairman. In Morogoro town the two work as a team and are very much as PN suggests "one in the same" (F/N, 17/5/2000). OM became District Chairman in 1996 after his predecessor, Mwalimu Simpasa, stepped-down to become the Member of Parliament for Mbozi (TTU, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 2). He gives this explanation for his active involvement in TTU.

Well you could say that the Union has become my life. I have always been a leader, and after training as a UPE teacher I took my brother's advice and joined Mweru Sec. in Arusha. I became a prefect, and after graduating joined Mkwawa College of Education from 1981-1984. After just one month I was voted on to the Student Government and became the Minister of Food. I enjoyed fighting for the students' rights. One time the cook was stealing

money and I told him, "Look here! Stop this *ujanja* (trickery) before I tell the Principal." I sorted out the problem and after that gained the respect of the students...I soon became the college's national representative for MUWATA (Muungano wa Wanafunzi wa Tanzania)⁸¹ and held that post for three years (OM, F/N 17/5/2000).

After this Morogoro District TTU was to lose its first secretary, Elizabeth Mkiliana. Her potential replacements were interviewed and selected by a committee of TTU representatives headed by the OM. The situation left the district open to charges of nepotism as members of the standing committee would invariably apply, and also to the danger of recruiting a candidate only interested in the per diems/allowances attached to the post. As OM explains, "When we had our interviews for district secretary I said "look here if we don't do this properly we will get a fake secretary". We called in all the candidates, there were about ten of them and SM was the obvious candidate" (F/N, 21/5/2000). However, recognising the importance of the role the selection of district and regional chairpersons is now the responsibility of the General Secretary.

Teachers' Arrears

On the 15th February 2000 Prime Minister Sumaye's office issued a press release (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Ofisi ya Waziri Mkuu*, 2000) saying it was releasing one billion shillings of teachers' arrears. Subsequent to this a meeting was held in Morogoro Municipal Offices to discuss how the first payment of 17, 545, 530 shillings, out of a total claim of 71,336, 620 shillings would be made (see Table. 6). Morogoro's District Education Officer, the TSC district secretary, the municipal secretary, and TTU's district secretary and chairman were all in attendance. It was eventually agreed that the first payment would take place on 3rd March and that it would be for in order importance; (1) retired teachers, (2) medical treatment, (3) 1st appointment, and (4) training (F/N 28/3/2000).

⁸¹

The Tanzania Students' Union.

Table. 6

Morogoro District Primary School Teachers Arrears (1994-1999)

Type of Claim	First Payment (Tz. Shillings)
Transfers	13,484,831
Training	741,650
Official Journeys and Retirement	5,668,476
Bi-annual leave	38,558,893
Medical Expenses	8,313,470
1 st Appointment	4,569,600
Total	71,336,620

(Source: Morogoro Municipal Local Government Records)

Micro Credit

On the 14 September, 1999 teachers Morogoro Municipal district's primary school teachers registered their own Teachers' Saving and Credit Co-operative -TESCOS Ltd. As of the 17 November, 1999 it had 109 members. To join teachers are required to pay a one-off membership fee of Sh 2,000 and to buy four shares for Sh 5,000 each. After that, they should put into the society a certain amount of money every month. Most people who join TESCOS are only able to pay between 5,000 and 10,000 shillings a month. After a period of three months, they can apply for a loan up to twice the amount that they have invested. The teachers are then required to repay the loan in a period that is to their own preference. However, they must repay the loan within a period of one year. They will also be required to pay interest on the loan of 5%. The researcher is very grateful for the help that Mr. Kuivambi gave him by preparing the following table of the different types of loans teachers take out with TESCOS (F/N 17/11/99).

Table. 7
Information of Types of Loans
April 1999 To 31st October 1999

Type of Loan	Number Of Applicants	Amount loaned in Tanzanian Shillings	Percentage
Education (School Fees)	34	3,075,000	40.67
Building Materials	16	2,220,000	29.37
Medical Treatment	11	865,000	11.44
Bereavement	5	430,000	5.69
Agriculture and Livestock	5	710,000	9.39
Business	2	160,000	2.12
Weddings	1	100,000	1.32
Total	74	7,560,000	100

(Source: Teachers' Savings and Credit Co-operative. Morogoro Municipal District)

It is most interesting that the table shows that teachers require loans not just for business but for other things as well such as education, medical care, funerals and building materials. However, I would hasten to add that though teachers are not using TESCOS for business purposes they might well be using another organisation.

TESCOS' rates of interest are favourable when compared with those of other organisations. Pride Tanzania is an organisation that only gives loans for income generating activities and according to Pride's Morogoro branch manager had fifty teachers as members by December 1999 (F/N, 7/11/1999). Ten of these teachers had taken out loans up to the sum of Sh300, 000. Pride Tanzania started in Arusha in 1993 and is part of the Pride Africa Group. It has 23 branches in Tanzania and 37,210 members countrywide. There are 1800 members in Morogoro. It follows the 'Grameen model' of group collective responsibility and is a profit making enterprise. It offers loans of Sh 50,000 (15% interest), 100,000 (24% interest), 200,000(30% interest), 300,000 (30% interest), 500,000(30% interest), 1,000,000 (30% interest), and 2,000,000 (25% interest). As members are required to meet as a group once a week teachers often find it difficult to meet Pride's regulations (ibid).

District Meetings

As well as sitting on the District Committee the district secretary must also call district level “meetings in collaboration with the chairperson” and “be the secretary of all meetings at district level” (TTU, 1999: 37-38). TTU’s Morogoro Municipal district was the first to educate its members on the election procedures when it held a meeting of the District Congress on the 14th January 2000 (F/N, 14/1/2000). Though this could have been the result of it being easier to organise meetings in an urban area than in the countryside it does seem to pay tribute to the District Secretary’s administration skills.⁸² Consistent with Gus Liebenow’s observations of teachers meetings back in 1956⁸³ (Liebenow, 1971: 24) members chose to use the gathering as an opportunity to voice their concerns. “The most vocal participants were female representatives from primary schools. They complained about the hardships they were facing and the length that forms stayed with the head teachers, the unavailability of sick sheet forms and the incompetence and negligence of TSC”(F/N, 14/1/2000).

It has to be borne in mind that the representatives were so full of angst at this meeting because the government had not yet began to pay-back primary school teachers’ arrears. A much less angry district meeting was held on the 5th August 2000 to discuss; (i) the setting up of district level income generation projects, (ii) the results of a fact finding exercise into branch concerns that had been conducted by the District Executive Committee between the 4th and 29th March, 2000 (CWT, Manispaa Morogoro, 2000), and (iii) the preparations for the district’s celebrations of “World Teachers Day” to be held on the 22nd September 2000 (F/N, 5/8/2000).

⁸² SM’s all round competence, and the simple fact that his district seems to be so well run, also seems to suggest that he had nothing to hide and goes a long way to explaining why he was so willing to co-operate with me during my investigations.

⁸³ See Chapter 2.

TTU's over-dependence on the "cut-off" system potentially jeopardises its security as the government can easily cancel the system at any time and thus dam-up the flow of the union funds in times of industrial dispute. It is important for the Union when considering the establishment of an income-generating project to take into account the profession's public image, and to ensure that any business adventure is aboveboard. Though the establishment of a teachers' canteen, bar or hostel would bring in regular income it could also damage the Union if incidents of drunkenness or sexual impropriety were to occur. For this reason these options were rejected in favour of the setting up of a committee charged with the responsibility of locating a plot of land on which new district offices could be built.

Heading up the committee was the district's women's representative on TTU's National Council, ML, whose full time job was that of a Ward Executive Officer (F/N, 18/2/2000). As her daily duties involved revenue collection for the Municipal Council she was able to give valuable in-put to the meeting concerning the regulations governing taxation and building permission. She informed those present that it was possible to acquire a plot of land at Kihonda (two miles from the town centre) for 45,000 shillings. Despite TTU's Morogoro Municipal district's wealth in human resources its independence is made even more vulnerable by the fact that its offices have been loaned to it by "The Tanzanian Union of Government Health Workers" (TUGHE). On a daily basis its efficiency and independence is further impaired because it has to share a typist with the region and the secretary for Morogoro rural district. Indeed, this sharing of limited resources is common to many TTU offices and in Arusha region internal communications have been greatly improved by the donation of computers by Incofin to each district (CWT, 2000: 36).

With regard to the establishment of income generation projects, Morogoro Municipal TTU could do far worse than taking a leaf out of her rural neighbour's book. In 1999 TTU's Morogoro Rural district began the building of a hostel for students at Melela

Secondary school. Many of the pupils attending this rural school were struggling to find secure board and lodgings close to the school and were thus jeopardising both their personal safety and their studies. As PN, the district secretary explained, "*Bila wanafunzi sisi walimu hatutakwepo!*" ("Without students we teachers would not be here!") (F/N, 20/3/2000). It was decided that TTU could help remedy the situation by building a safe place for forty children to stay. Funding for the estimated 5 million shilling project came from the district's allocation of union dues and an independent contractor was hired. By March 2000 work on the roof was well under way, and it was anticipated that the Union would begin to see a return on its investment in January 2001 when the first residents would pay 40,000 shillings a year for their board. Though potentially there always remains the danger that the Union's reputation may suffer due to an individual teacher's sexual impropriety, the Melela Hostel would seem to be worthwhile Union project. Not only does it secure an alternative source of future income, but also it could improve TTU's standing in the community through the provision of a vital service to parents and children.

The fact-finding tour unearthed little new as the branches complained of the same old perennial problems – the late/non payment of allowances and delays in promotion (CWT, Manispaa Morogoro, 2000: 2). The District Council was to focus in however on a new line of the lament, i.e. that there was a need for the director of work to introduce a system by which primary teachers could receive their monthly pay packets efficiently without putting them at risk of being attacked by robbers (ibid, 1). This concern was woven into the district's preparations for World Teachers' Day celebrations on the 22nd September 2000.

It was agreed that Morogoro's Municipal Director of Works would be the guest of honour at the celebration, and that the new branch treasurers would collect a 1,000-shilling contribution for the event from their members. Committees were set up to organise the reception, transport, decorations, the refreshments, and most importantly

the timetable and writing of the petition (ibid). In writing the district's *risala* the committee did a sterling job incorporating the results of the fact-finding mission into the final document and co-ordinating the written word with the public performance. The petition talks of teachers' anger at the cashiers "*uzembe*" (incompetence) (CWT, Manispaa Morogoro, 2000: 2) and chastises them for using "*lugha chafu*" (dirty language): saying that "teachers regularly lose more than three hours waiting for the cashier while s/he goes out to drink tea or take his/her lunch" (ibid, 2).⁸⁴ Indeed the document goes as far as to suggest that by delaying the start of the payment of primary school teachers' salaries until the afternoon teachers safety is endangered as some teachers are forced to carry their salaries home in the dark (p.2).

All the off-stage rehearsals seemed worth while on the day of the celebration itself when a highly effectively drama was staged depicting the cashiers' rude treatment of a female teacher, and the fatal robbery of her salary while she trudged home in the dark (F/N, 22/9/2000). As well as this drama the *risala* committee had also organised a number of games aimed at self-parody and making the profession appear as poor as possible. One of the games involved teachers running the full length of the football pitch with a beer bottle on their heads. The winner was the first to get to the other end without spilling, and won as a reward for his/her troubles a bar of the cheapest soap in the shops. This attention to detail and use of sarcasm, reveal both the importance that the Union places upon performance and the large amount of hidden endeavour that goes into the production of the subaltern public transcript.

In this case at least, the drama and petition seemed to bring about an agreeable resolution to the conflict. The Municipal Director of Works promised to take up their concerns with the cashiers, and though he did comment to me some days later that "those teachers gave me a lot of trouble" (F/N, 5/10/2000), he found it within himself to

⁸⁴ Author's own translation ("*walimu hupoteza zaidi ya masaa matatu kumsubiri mlipaji aliyekwenda kunywa chai au chakula cha mchana*") (CWT, Morogoro Manispaa, 2000: 2).

attend the formal evening function. Perhaps the reasons why the teachers were so successful on this day were that their concerns were not too unrealistic and dealt with a matter that was within the Municipal Director's power to alter. As we shall see below a successful re-integration of the contending parties may be difficult to achieve when the demands are too aspirational.

The Morogoro District Elections- The 23rd February 2000

The district elections are a very complicated and costly event to organise as all the recently elected branch representatives had a vote and received a 4,000-shilling per diem. The most significant complicating factor was the large number of district posts being contested. These were as follows.

- District Chairman.
- District Treasurer.
- Women's Representatives.
- Nursery Education Representative.
- Primary Education Representative.
- Secondary Education Representative.
- Technical Education.
- Teacher Training College Representative.
- Handicapped Teacher's Representative.

I had a number of immediate observations on entering the election-room. First I was struck by the overwhelming dominance of primary school teachers within the Union⁸⁵ and by how many of them were middle-aged women. "Most of these women seemed to know each other, and there were some rather shabby attempts at electioneering, with the only criterion being used was that of the "If you vote for me, I'll vote for you" kind" (F/N, 23/2/2000). The age profile can be explained by the need to be fully conversant with the terms and conditions of service, and the need to build up teaching experience and a strong network within the district. Therefore a prospective candidate's success is

⁸⁵ This can be seen from the statistics as within Morogoro Municipal District 916 out of the 1124 teacher strong membership are primary school teachers (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 9).

determined not by academic qualifications but by her/his personal qualities,⁸⁶ and whether the candidate is well known or not. With this emphasis upon the familiar, TTU is to many primary school teachers the only available avenue open to them for promotion and recognition, and providing them with a genuine platform from which they can be heard. Unfortunately, as not all Union representatives are as motivated by defending teachers' rights as the District Chairman, there is a constant threat that the Union's leadership may become contaminated by those interested only in obtaining allowances. Furthermore, this emphasis upon the familiar can prevent new blood from contesting, and the Union loses out on a potential infusion of fresh ideas.

In an attempt to establish the correct atmosphere for the proceedings the elections began with the singing of the Union song, "*Ushikamano Daima*" ("Solidarity Forever"), and was followed by the formal introductions of each and every candidate and member of the district congress. It has to be understood that many branch representatives were new to office and thus however time consuming this exercise seemed it did serve an important function. Another more problematic factor slowing down proceedings was the sheer number of contestants. One old lady stood for two posts and was asked how she would carry out her duties if she won both posts. She had no answer to this and appeared only to be standing out of curiosity and her desire to participate in what was an interesting outing. There is clearly a problem here with the wording of the Union's election procedures, as though it is stated that, "*Mwanachama mmoja hataweza kushika nafasi zaidi ya moja ya uongozi katika kipindi cha uongozi*" ("An individual member can not hold two posts during the period of office") an opt-out clause is then attached, "*isipokuwa zile za uwwakilishi*" ("except for those posts of representative") (*Chama cha Walimu Tanzania*, 1999: 7). If this additional clause were to be removed then the Union

⁸⁶ Throughout my review of TTU's 2000 elections I have tried to hold in mind the "eight qualities of a good leader" developed by participants at the 1999 TTU policy workshop in Morogoro. According to them a "good leader" should be; "1. Creative, 2. Democratic, 3. Courageous and Trustworthy, 4. Patient, 5. Able to communicate, 6. Able to make decisions, 7. Good at attacking problems, and 8. Able to stand criticism" (TTU, 1999: 36).

would save a great deal of wasted time. A second related point was that the ex-Morogoro Secondary school branch treasurer who had lost her post on the 10th February contested for the post of District Treasurer. Given her mishandling of the branch accounts I was concerned that there was no TTU regulation forbidding her from contesting at a higher level. As it is at the branch where a candidate is best known a rule restricting somebody from contesting for a post that s/he has already lost at a lower tier should be considered.

One final point to mention is that as with the two branch elections the incumbent treasurer lost his post. This was something of a surprise, and his downfall was not a result of financial embezzlement but of his decision to give a long election speech. When during his speech he said that when he had first taken office the district had no money but now held 1.6 million shillings in the bank there was a wholesale gasp from the electorate. The reason for the upturn in the accounts was that he was not distributing to the branches their proportion of Union dues.

General Evaluation of the TTU District

One of the most impressive features of TTU's Morogoro Municipal district has been its willingness to learn from its mistakes, and after the conclusion of the elections the new committee set about in earnest trying to rectify some of the mistakes that the election had brought to the surface. Almost immediately, the branch contributions that had swelled the district coffers were distributed out to their proper destinations (CWT, Manispaa, 2000: 2). As a means of both improving the welfare of tutors and encouraging their active involvement in union matters a second savings and credit society was set up at the Teachers' College (CWT, Manispaa, 2000: 2). Notwithstanding these improvements, the district still needs to provide further accountancy training for its branch secretaries and to educate headmasters in the ways of the Union. This is especially true for private school headmasters, and the Union needs to find ways by which it can address private school teachers' concerns in general. As we

shall see in Chapter Five, some of the poorest teachers in Tanzania work in the private sector. Moreover, if it were the case that more private school teachers were to join the Union then their membership subscriptions would provide an alternative source of income in the event of the cancellation of the “cut-off” system.

The Region

Morogoro region consists of five districts and has a total of 149 branches and 6232 members (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 9). As can be seen from Table 8 the composition of its membership is typical of the national picture as the vast majority of its members are government primary school teachers. Unfortunately it has no members from private school teachers. Table 8 gives a breakdown of Morogoro Region’s TTU’s membership by district.

Table. 8
Morogoro Region’s TTU Membership

District	Branch	Primary	Secondary	College	FDC*	Admin.	Inspectors	Total
Kiombero	20	940	29	-	10	7	8	994
Kilosa	46	1383	72	24	10	20	-	1509
Morogoro Municipal	16	916	120	80	-	4	4	1124
Morogoro Rural	50	1675	84	15	-	19	12	1805
Ulanga	17	776	9	-	-	11	4	800
Region	149	5690	314	119	20		28	6232

* Folk Development Colleges

(Source: CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 4)

Morogoro region has played a prominent role in TTU's history. It was the host of the 1997 national TTU elections and the National Executive Committee's policy workshop in April 1999. Moreover, it was its teachers' vociferous support of the national strike which led the then Regional Educational Officer, to permit branch and district TTU elections to take place in 1994 (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 1). The first regional election was held at Kilakala Secondary School on the 23rd March 1994 (ibid), and on taking office the regional leadership were faced with the problem of how to run a union with little or no money. Indeed, it was only thanks to the modest contribution of the region's district educational officers and donations from private benefactors that the district was able to buy stamps and a little furniture for its office on Station Road, Morogoro town (ibid).

Morogoro region's own *Mwanzo Mgumu* (Hard Start) replicated TTU's failure at the national level to defend teachers' rights, and was further exacerbated by various changes in personnel. Kilombero's first district secretary was sacked for "*utoro na upotevu wa fedha*" ("absenteeism and wasting money") and Morogoro Rural District's first secretary, Hassan Dutilo, resigned (ibid, 2). Ulanga's Chairman, A. Magambo had to leave his post after being transferred from his teaching post, while Morogoro Municipal District was particularly disrupted by the loss of both its secretary, Elizabeth Mkiliana, and the District Chairman, Mwalimu Simpasa, who stepped down to become the Member of Parliament for Mbozi (p.2).

The introduction of the "cut-off" system in 1996 meant that region was to acquire some degree of organisational efficiency. In 1996 the region was able to prepare for the first time proper accounts and to manage its affairs within budget, spending only 5,691, 678.40 shillings of its 6,764,089.94 shillings of income (*Chama cha Walimu Tanzania, Mkoa wa Morogoro*, 2000: 3). Unfortunately, this was to prove to be something of a false dawn as the proposed 1997 strike over the cancellation of "Teaching Allowance" caused expenditure to spiral out of control. As Morogoro Region's TTU Secretary

explains; “1997 was a very expensive time for us as we had to mobilise the grassroots for the strike...After the Dodoma meeting we were very busy throughout the region, visiting the branches and trying to implement the strategies agreed upon in Dodoma” (AM, F/N 3/4/2000). Out of an overall income of 27 million Shillings nearly 5.5 million shillings was spent on regional representatives’ allowances, 3.6 million shillings on the leaders’ travel expenses, and nearly 90,000 shillings on tea and refreshments (ibid: 5-6).

Speaking in late 1999, the ex-TTU Secondary School Representative for Morogoro Region made the following remark concerning how members would react to the large amount in allowances that she had received, “*Ningepigwa mawe*” (“I would be stoned”) if people knew how much I received” (F/N, 25/11/1999). Her words were to prove prophetic, as when the District Secretary attempted to steamroll the district accounts through the “Regional Council” without providing them with sufficient time to scrutinise the figures he provoked a minor revolution from OM and the other district chairmen (F/N, 28/3/2000). During the next day’s meeting the outgoing Regional Steering Committee were interrogated over the expenditure, with delegates being especially interested to know what were the results of all the regional representatives journeys (F/N, 29/3/2000). District representatives were also annoyed that the out-going committee had stolen some of the new committee’s thunder by setting down TTU’s regional priorities for the second term (F/N, 29/3/2000). The list included, (i) strengthening solidarity within the Union, (ii) encouraging Grade C teachers to up-grade, (iii) educating members on their rights, (iv) educating teachers about HIV/AIDS so that they may protect themselves and teach their students about the disease, (v) setting up union income generating projects, (vi) acquiring a regional vehicle, and (vii) building a new regional office (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 7-8).

As well as saying that the district wastes a large amount of money on allowances we can also infer three additional conclusions from the account of this meeting. First, that a courageous union leader such as OM can bring to book leaders for their financial

failings. Second, that tensions exist in Morogoro between the regional and district offices. Third, that the region duplicates much of the work of the district and has very similar goals for the future.

Micro Credit

Despite its obvious weakness Morogoro region's TTU has had some success in defending teachers' rights and improving their welfare. It has been to establish a saving and credit society in each of its five districts (ibid, 5), and it also runs two further schemes that though small in scale make a difference to teachers' lives. The Union has obtained three hundred bicycles⁸⁷ for 70,000 shillings a piece and teachers can pay for one of these in ten 7,000-shilling monthly instalments. The second is a loan for a mattress and pillow, which can be bought at factory price (Chama cha Walimu Tanzania, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 6).

Teachers' Arrears

The Regional Secretary was extremely active in ensuring that the district secretaries advised their members appropriately on how to pursue their claims for their arrears. Table 9 shows the sums of money released to each district as part of the first instalment of their back pay. We can see from it that out of a total figure of 35,329,521 shillings paid to Morogoro Region's teachers, nearly half went to those working in Morogoro town. This can be explained by three factors; (a) all the hard work put in by Morogoro Municipal district TTU when preparing the claims, (b) that it is easier to run a municipal district than a rural district, and (c) that relationships between TTU and directors of work in the other districts are strained to such an extent that TTU was taking them to court over their failure to release union funds (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 7).

⁸⁷ One of my key informants (GM) jokingly refers to a bicycle as '*gari la mwalimu*' ('a teacher's car').

Table. 9
First Payment of Teachers Arrears by District
Morogoro region

District	Payment in Tz. Shillings
Morogoro Municipal	17,545,530
Morogoro Rural	5,712,078
Kilombero	2,554,602
Kilosa	7,196,955
Ulanga	2,320,357
Region	35,329,521

(Source: Adapted from CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 4)

Meetings

The region does not only advocate the case for teachers' rights in the theatre of the courtroom but also when it comes to meet face-to-face with government in public celebrations. These meetings fall into two categories.

The first is when TTU meets with government representatives as a part of the Tanzania Federation of Free Trade Unions (TFTU). An example of this kind of gathering is when Morogoro's trade unions attended the Workers Day celebrations on the 1st May 2000 to address their concerns to the Regional Commissioner (RC) Laurence Gama. Unfortunately, as a means of a negotiation, regional May Day celebrations have limited results, and apart from providing an opportunity to wave placards and claim workers' solidarity they are really a parochial sideshow to the national celebrations, the major problem here being that the issues raised are often one's for central government and thus not within the RC's scope of influence. Whereas President Mkapa used the May Day celebrations to present his carefully constructed pre-election "You've never had it so good!" speech, the non-elected RC did not even prepare a written document, and

responded in an *ad hoc* manner to TFTU's general national concerns over "privatisation" and how employers are not meeting their obligations with regard to National Social Security Fund contributions (TFTU, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000: 3).

The second category of meeting is when the TTU region independently organises celebrations at which events are orchestrated around the reading of the *risala*. One such event was the Regions' celebrations of World Teacher Day on the 1st December, 1999. The guest of honour was the Regional Education Officer, and before he received the petition he was "treated" to a performance by a *kwaya* (choir) of primary school teachers. The singing began respectfully enough and in the opening encounter, "There was something very reminiscent of those stereotypical images of Africans giving tribute to the chief" (F/N, 1/12/1999). However, the script suddenly changed. "In an exaggerated sarcastic manner the group's leader stretched out her neck and let it fall back down to her shoulders. This was a cue for a change of mood and the next song in the repertoire began "we teachers are strong enough to change society" (ibid). The song was a string of teachers' complaints and frustrations including the following verses.

If we get a transfer, we the poor teachers
There is nothing we get, no money - no safari
Statement that you get, to report at your new station.
We teachers are strong enough to change society!

If you get sick, then you have to sign – sign
You have to go and sell your duck, to go to hospital
If you don't overcome your problems, then you will fall into a hole
We teachers are strong enough to change society!
(F/N, 1/12/1999)⁸⁸

The TTU *risala* was read by the Regional Secretary and highlighted problems with primary school teacher up-grading. It stated that the Union had discovered that there were many rural schools situated too far away from upgrading centres to allow their

⁸⁸ See Appendix B for Swahili original version.

teachers to attend classes (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 1999: 2). Moreover, there were even some rural schools in which none of the classroom teaching staff held a Grade “A” certificate (ibid). However, his plea for increased government assistance in this matter did not bring about a favourable response from the REO, whose line of defence was that employment was now very difficult and that even within his own offices there had been a great deal of retrenchment. He went on to say that teachers needed to understand that experience would not protect them from retrenchment and that they needed to have a *dira* (vision) of their own advancement. It was his view that in a competitive world life had become a “survival of the fittest” and that teachers would need to find their own ways to improve (F/N, 1/12/1999).

Clearly, the Union’s petition and poem had failed to negotiate the desired result. However, the Union still had an opportunity for two last ironic gestures. The first was to *Kufukuza Kuku* (chase the chicken). Here an elderly female teacher and a senior male officer chased a large cockerel around the ground. The lady eventually won and as she collected her prize – the aforementioned cockerel – she held it out triumphantly in front of the REO. “Given the earlier reference to the duck, I wondered how welcome the gift would be” (F/N, 1/12/99). The second was *Kuvuta Kamba* (tug-of-war). Unfortunately, the event was a failure as on each pull the rope snapped, leaving the two sides literally in a state of schism.

If TTU’s performance at the World Teachers Day celebrations in Kilombero was a failure, then the Regional Secretary’s involvement at a meeting of Morogoro’s leaders of education on the 2nd June 2000 was a disaster! Held to mark a visit of the Permanent Secretary of the MOEC, Mary Mushi, the meeting had been marketed as a consultative exercise to provide MOEC officials with an opportunity to see what was happening on the ground. However, in reality the reason for the visit was more administrative as Salcum Mjagila, the Deputy Permanent Secretary of the MOEC, explained that four main priorities for education had been identified. According to Mjagila the MOEC

needed to (i) improve the school environment, (ii) ensure that the leadership is improved at all levels, (iii) improve the information system as there was little data on which to base decisions, and (iv) consider how to tackle HIV/Aids (F/N, 2/6/2000). We shall focus here upon the issue of HIV/AIDS.

Mary Mushi explained that every government ministry had been affected by the disease, and that gaps were beginning to appear in the administration. Many teachers were either dying of AIDS or missing classes as they suffered with the illness. Moreover, as the MOEC has a direct responsibility for youth it was important that students were educated about the disease and that measures were put in place to ensure that their schooling was not disrupted by their loss of family members. In a question and answer session at the end of this speech, AM requested that money might be made available to TTU so that it could fund HIV/AIDS seminars for its members. In response Mary Mushi praised TTU but said that because of the "*ufinyu wa bajeti*" ("budget squeeze") there was no money available for such seminars. This provoked an angry response from AM who threw down his papers saying that every time he heard the phrase "*ufinyu wa bajeti*" he felt "*sikitika sana*" ("very sad") and demanded to know why the government did not make more money available (F/N 2/6/2000). Through his exasperation AM had cut through the façade of the event by making an open statement of the hidden transcript, "(a) declaration that breaches the etiquette of power relations, that breaks an apparently calm surface of silence and consent, carries the force of a symbolic declaration of war" (Scott, 1990: 8).

The AIDS pandemic its taking its toll in Africa and it is estimated that by the year 2020 twenty seven thousand Tanzanian teachers would have died because of the disease (The Tanzania *Daily Mail*, Friday 26 November 1999). In Morogoro Region 37 TTU members died in 1997, 44 in 1998, and 48 in 1999. Even though, these figures are difficult to interpret the Union feels that they are very high and aims to introduce AIDS awareness courses for its members (CWT, Mkoa wa Morogoro, 2000:7). Moreover,

teachers may also be required to pick up the costs of caring for relatives within the extended family, and the remaining spouse may experience a number of problems in the immediate period after a partner's death. Firstly, the bereaved is left without the teacher's income and may be living in an area which is a long way away from the extended family. Secondly, the inheritance may take up to two years to be sorted out leaving the bereaved in a financial crisis. Thirdly, this may have the knock on effect of the withdrawal of some children from school - girls are most vulnerable here - because fees can not be paid and the children will be needed to earn extra money. Fourthly, the bereaved may be left in the difficult situation of occupying a school house even when the member of the family who was the government worker has passed away. If this is so there will become a time when another teacher will need a home. If this is the case, "The teachers will find ways to *kufukuza* (chase out) the teacher" (AM, F/N 10/11/99). The Regional Secretary for TTU Morogoro feels that the Union needs to come to some agreement with the government regarding what to do with deceased's remaining family. Bereavement is a time of crisis in everybody's life; however, due to the often-enforced geographical mobility of teachers the position might be particularly bad.

The Regional Election – Wednesday 29th March 2000

TTU's regional elections were held in the town of Mikumi and brought together representatives and candidates from the region's five districts. Mr. Mattow from TTU's National Steering Committee was called in to ensure that the elections followed the Union's constitution. While prospective candidates had to pay their own way, the district secretaries and the newly elected district representatives had their travel expenses paid for out of the TTU regional budget, and had to pay for their own

accommodation out of their 20,000 shilling per diem. Most took basic lodgings for 1,500 shillings and thus made a comfortable profit on the day.⁸⁹

Mattow himself arrived on the day of the elections and no doubt would have passed the judgement that the proceedings were conducted in accordance with the constitution. However, if he had have arrived the night before he would have witnessed not only the regional congress's unseemly revolution over the presentation of the region's accounts but also the arrival of Margaret Sitta's rival in the 1997 presidential elections, Ezekiah Oluche. Though Oluche is a very popular figure in Morogoro his attendance at the elections placed the Regional Secretary in something of a predicament as he had already blocked Oluche's application to stand for the post of TTU Regional Chairman (F/N, 31/5/2000). This was because there was some doubt as to whether Oluche still remained a *bona fide* member of the Union. Eventually a compromise was reached whereby Oluche agreed to talk directly with Margaret Sitta and Yahya Msulwa before throwing his hat into the ring for any leadership challenge.⁹⁰

Though the elections themselves were fair and democratic it is possible to find some room for improvement. First, some people were contesting more than one post. Second, it was clear that people who had contested a post at the district and lost were still prepared to contest again for higher office. A prime example of this was the first-term treasurer of Morogoro Secondary school branch, who having contested and lost the posts of Branch and District Treasurer in the two previous elections was to lose her bid

⁸⁹ This seems to support the view of the ex-headmaster DC who feels that teachers "would rather have a full per diem and *lalala chini* (sleep on the floor) than stay in a good hotel and have everything provided...this kind of attitude is not going to change quickly!" (DC, F/N 21/6/2000)

⁹⁰ Oluche is adamant that he has always been a union member, and had this to say when I asked him about the matter. "After the 1997 election I went back to being Discipline Master at Tambaza Secondary. However, in December 1997 WWF wanted an environmental teacher and I was offered the job. On the 1st January 1998 I got a secondment from the MOEC and during my time there was paying my union fees directly to CWT's Headquarters" (EO, F/N 31/5/2000).

to become Regional Treasurer. Third, voters were particularly unimpressed with the performance of a little known lecturer from Morogoro Teachers' College who began by passing his qualifications around the room (most voters did not even glance at them), and then suggested that TTU needed to talk directly with the international donors. Finally, as with the previous three elections the sitting treasurer was voted out of office, which again suggests that members are most concerned about the management of their union funds.

Evaluation of the TTU Region

Our discussion of Morogoro Region supports the opinion of the Union's National Congress that it is a costly inefficient tier of bureaucracy. Not only has it been profligate with Union funds but it also seems to duplicate much of the work of the district. Apart from providing its representatives with allowances its only other function seems to be that of a training ground for would be politicians and those holding aspirations for higher Union office. Ezekiah Oluche's fleeting attendance at the election is a clear example of this, as is the election of the region's women's representative, Margaret Mkanga, who was to contest at TTU's national elections for the post of Disabled Representative. Unfortunately, the Union can not rest on the laurels of its accomplishments at Iringa in 1999, and should seek to cancel the region altogether.

The TTU National Elections – 19th May 2000

TTU's National Elections were not just the culmination of a long drawn-out constitutional process, but a highly sophisticated political performance, and a ritualistic embodiment of Tanzanian Trade Unionism. The stage was the Arusha Conference Centre, but the backdrop was the vast canvas of the Tanzanian educational system, the lives of each of the country's teachers, and the forthcoming general election. Though the chief protagonists were those contesting high office and invited guests, each

member of the cast had a role to play in ensuring that the “on-stage” performance created the impression that teachers were responsible Tanzanian citizens and that TTU was a transparent democratic organisation. “Off-stage” of course, other private, more personal agendas came into play such as jealousy, political backbiting, and the unseemly scramble for allowances: and as the election rolled-over into as second day’s voting the Union’s halo began to slip!

The National Election was also a vastly expensive and logistically complicated event to organise as it brought together representatives from Tanzania’s twenty regions, and 114 districts (CWT, 2000). Indeed, so great was the number of representatives and prospective candidates arriving into Arusha on the night of 17th May, 2000 that it seemed as if the Union had booked out all of the city’s many guest houses (F/N, 17/5/2000). This was no doubt a welcome boost to the off-season tourist economy.⁹¹ However, it was not the large hotels that benefited from the TTU invasion, as most representatives chose to spend the night in squalid 2,000 shilling a night lodgings, while some even doubled-up for 1,250 shillings a night so as to save as much as possible of their 25,000 shilling a day allowance. The “cost of democracy” did not stop here however, as the Union also had to hire the Arusha Conference Centre for two days⁹² Moreover, each representative was presented with a smart leather bag containing a yellow TTU hat, T-Shirt, laminated copies of TTU’s accounts and report of the Union’s activities since 1994 (CWT, 2000). At least the Union had received some help with last item in the bag, as *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung* had sponsored the publication of the new TTU Constitution (TTU, 1999) (F/N, 18/5/2000).

⁹¹ For a more detailed discussion on the relationship between the local economy and the hosting of national events and conferences see the section entitled ‘Political Performance and the Education System’ in Chapter 5.

⁹² Built to house the old East African Community it is the most impressive auditorium in the country, and home to the International War Crimes Tribunal set up judge suspects in the Rwandan genocide.

The day of the election began with a march through the streets of Arusha, and as the delegates gathered outside the Arusha OTTU buildings some candidates used the opportunity to hand out their election manifestos (F/N, 19/5/2000). Most of these were word-processed and extremely well-published, and Margaret Sitta's manifesto for example was written up on expensive paper that resembled a "top of the range" Christmas card. However, the main reason for the gathering was not to indulge in some last minute electioneering but to demonstrate against teachers' poor standard of living. The "march" has been a well-used prop by the labour movement throughout the world, and is a universal symbol of protest. Tanzanian teacher trade unionists have a particular affinity with this form demonstration as it was used by Peter Mashanga on his visit to State House in 1993, and in the violent clashes between Morogoro and Musoma's teachers and the Field Force Unit during the National Strike.

However, TTU's march on the morning of the 19th May 2000 was devoid of both the irony of Mashanga's envoy of 32 teachers to State House, and the angry vitriol of the strikers' protest. Instead it was an ordered and disciplined parade, intended to project to the general public an image of a dignified profession and a mature union capable of staying true to principles of solidarity and openness even at a time of internal competition. Banners were unfurled and distributed to each of the regions, and each had a different demand. There was one regarding Negotiating Machinery and another demanding the payment of teachers' arrears. Everybody was dressed in yellow shirts and hats, and as the procession proceeded towards the conference centre the people of Arusha were invited to look out at the Union's shop-front. "Pedestrians stopped on the side of the road and people came out onto their balconies to watch the procession" (F/N, 19/5/2000).

As with Morogoro's district elections events began with the singing of the Union song, and rather uncomfortably the Prime Minister, Frederick Sumaye, and the Regional Commissioner for Arusha were forced to link hands. After this a short greeting from

TTU's sister Union, the Swedish Teachers' Union, was read out and a *kwaya* of teachers from Meru Primary School sung a poem (See Appendix, B). This began politely enough.

In our god's name, we start the poem
The coming of the delegation, is from god's benevolence
Humanity is not a thing, we have already learnt that
You are welcome our guests, feel at home.
(F/N, 19/5/2000)

The real intention however was not to make the Prime Minister feel comfortable but, as OM later informed me, to "rub it in" to Sumaye. The rest of the poem became a litany of teachers' complaints and the following verses reflect their concerns over the standard of their housing, the late arrival of the monthly salary, the removal of "Teaching Allowance" and their frustrations over the government's slowness to solve any of these problems.

Slum housing, you wouldn't believe that a teacher lives there
A teacher lives in a pitiful place, he doesn't have enough rent
He's like an imbecile, poor civil servant
The Government should think about teachers' welfare!

Salaries are late, all over the country
Why is this ignored, why is this so?
The salaries are often late, even here in town
The salaries have to be released, at an appropriate time.

Teaching Allowance, why has it been taken away?
Please restore it, so we can live like we used to
We are waiting for a wealthy life, to remove our poverty
The Government should think, about teachers' welfare!

We are tired of promises, that we are given every day
We feel we have to say it, and today is the day
We are compelled to say it, and we bequest you Prime Minister
The Government should think, about teachers' welfare!
(F/N, 19/5/2000)

One difference here with Morogoro Region's performance in Kilombero, however, was that whenever the singers sung a verse that dealt directly with teachers' concerns, the whole auditorium would erupt into a forest of yellow shirts, and each teacher would stand and wave his/her hat. Moreover, though it might be just about within the limits of acceptability to be sarcastic in a choir in front of the REO, those who sang before the Prime Minister needed the psychological support of the whole congress. To transgress the normal rules of dealing with the elite like this required a high degree of courage and delegates' gestures were meant to say, "we are behind you" and prevent any later repercussions. Finally, it does not matter if these problems directly affect the singers or not as the song has a symbolic value and speaks for the whole profession. They are therefore messengers and should not be shot (F/N 19/5/2000).

After this, Arusha's Regional Commissioner made a short address in which he urged congress to, "choose leaders who can negotiate instead of confront", and the theme was continued by TSC's General Secretary, Mrs. Olekambaine. The comments were aimed at those delegates who might wish a return to Mashanga's more combative style of leadership, and were an attempt to direct congress towards leaders that were more favourable to the Administration. As we shall see with the actual voting, Congress had no intention of slipping snugly into the Government's pocket without putting in place some checks and balances from its more militant wing. Congress also had its own preferences for how government consultations should be conducted. Educational International's Ghanaian representative spoke of EI's commitment to "provide universal public education to the children of the world"; and addressed Sumaye directly saying, "May I get an assurance that by the end of the year there will be a negotiating machinery in place?" Everybody was again on their feet to this, waving their hats in the air.

The Union's General Secretary delivered TTU's *risala*, and its composition had clearly been influenced by EI's *Global Education Campaign*. It began by thanking Sumaye for his continued support of the Union and emphasised the point that TTU's holding of free

elections showed that it held democratic principles (Msulwa, 2000: 1-2). Msulwa proceeded to discuss in some detail the state of the national economy. He congratulated the government for increasing the rate in the growth of the economy from 3.6% a year in 1996 to 4.8% in 1999, and for reducing inflation from 30% in 1993 to just 6% in 2000 (ibid, 3). The government was also praised for its efforts in achieving the cancellation of 2 billion Us \$ debt to external donors (p.4). These compliments were, however, intended to tee-up a demand to increase the education budget so that it kept step with increases in revenue.

When Mkapu and Sumaye took office in 1995 10.5 billion shillings out of a total budget of 413 billion shillings were allocated to the education sector (p.5). By the 1997/98 the education budget was allocated 18.8 billion shillings out of 669.5 billion shillings. By the time of Msulwa's speech the 1999/2000 education budget stood at 35.3 billion shillings (p.5). In line with the *Global Campaign for Education's* manifesto Msulwa argued that despite the up-turn in Tanzania's economic fortunes the education budget was still very low. It was no secret that among Tanzania's schools there were those experiencing extreme shortfalls in exercise and text-books, libraries, teachers' houses, classrooms, laboratories, stools, and toilets (p.6).

Msulwa then turned to problems inflicted upon the profession by the government's budget squeeze.⁹³ Though there is a shortfall of 15,915 teachers in the country many teachers waited a long time to be employed and then on starting work sometimes wait between six and twelve months before getting paid (p.6). At the time of the speech there were over 200 teachers who had been employed in 1999 and January 2000 who had yet to receive their salaries. Other problems caused by the much vilified budget squeeze are now only too familiar to the readers of this thesis, and Msulwa here mentions low salaries (p.6), the cancellation of "Teaching Allowance" (p.7), and the limited opportunities for

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See AM's angry reaction to the term during Mary Mushi's visit to Morogoro.

professional training. “Wapo walimu ambao wamekaa zaidi ya miaka ishirini bila kupatiwa semina au kozi fupi” (“There are teachers who stay for twenty years without been given a seminar or a short course”) (p.8).

Not surprisingly the last demand concerned the on-going saga over teachers’ arrears (p.9) to which the auditorium provided its own accompanying para-lingual punctuation to the written script – Slap! TTU representatives have developed a way of slapping the palm of their right hand over the fist, and when 370 plus people do it in unison it sounds very much like a loud gun shot blast, and helps emphasise a point in the same way that bulleted points do in an article. Whether the recipient of this fire is actually injured by this bullet or not depends very much on how much of an accomplished political performer s/he is. Sumaye had witnessed this kind of protest before at TTU’s 1997 elections and just laughed!

Before Sumaye had a chance to reply Margaret Sitta stood up to say a few words and reiterated the main message of Msulwa’s *risala*. Unlike the General Secretary who holds universal popularity in the Union, her re-election was still in the balance and she used the short time available her to try and disabuse wavering voters of the opinion that she was a CCM stooge. She began by saying that ever since she had been TTU’s vice President in 1994 the Union had “sung a song” about teachers’ welfare but nothing had as yet happened. Displaying her credentials as a brave TTU standard-bearer she sarcastically thanked the Prime Minister for the Government’s inactivity “*Asante sana kwa pole*” (“Thank you very much for going slowly”). Whether the joke was on Sumaye or TTU’s congress is difficult to judge. To those who shared Mashanga’s view of her as “employer virus” her performance could be viewed as a disingenuous charade intended to hide her true allegiance to CCM. However, to those who held the majority view, her speech was a vote-securing act of genuine resistance.

No doubt feeling a little like “Daniel in the lion’s den” Sumaye waited for the ululating and hat waving to cease before starting his speech. He began with what could be considered a back-handed compliment by thanking the Union for building good relations with the government and went on to say that TTU’s elections were an example to the Trade Union movement as a whole (Sumaye, 2000: 1&2). After reiterating some the macro-economic points made by Msulwa, he promised that the government would try and tighten the country’s purse strings again in order to release a further one billion shillings of teachers’ arrears later in the year (ibid, 5). He told congress that the Government had indeed been successful in raising the country’s monthly income from an average of 27 billion shillings a month in 1995/1996 to an average of 59 billion shillings a month in 1999/2000. However, the monthly sum needed to pay workers’ salaries and allowance back-payments was still almost twice the amount collected in tax-revenue (p.6). He explained that it was not only teachers who were owed outstanding monies but soldiers, police, prison guards and public sector health workers (p.6). Moreover, the government had not just slowed the employment of teachers but other government workers (p.7). During the economic year 1999/2000 1500 teachers had been employed (pp. 7-8) and he conceded to Msulwa’s allegation that many of these had not yet been paid, saying that the situation would be rectified soon (p.8). However, he was not prepared to reinstate “Teaching Allowance” as it was his opinion that it was better for all workers when allowances were incorporated into salaries as that increased the final pension contribution (p.8).

The “cash budget” was used again as an excuse to explain the late arrival of salaries, with Sumaye suggesting that in a month of poor tax revenue payment of the salaries may have to be delayed. However, he also admitted that maybe a lack of expertise and incompetence might have contributed to the delay (p.9). A shortfall in tax-revenue collection was also to blame for teachers’ low salaries, and using *utani* (humour) he suggested that if teachers were prepared to pay more in tax then they could have higher salaries (p.10). Though the government has had great success in having 1.6 trillion

shillings of external debt cancelled it still had to make regular debt -service payments (p.11).

The Elections

The elections did not begin until 4.30pm and the whole process was nearly ruined by the pressure of trying to select 17 new officials in a day. Indeed, many representatives had hoped that the election would be postponed to the following day, but instead it ran through the night with the Union's new national leadership taking up office in the early hours of Saturday morning. The decision to plough on with the elections was based upon the booking-fee for the Arusha Conference Centre for an additional day, and the cost of paying the 370 or so delegates an additional 25,000-shilling per diem. It was not a popular decision with Congress and it was possible to discern two distinct moods. The first involved delegates trying to disrupt and prolong proceedings so as to drag out the voting into another day and therefore enforce the payment of the additional allowance. The second was that as delegates were already tired from two days deliberations some just wanted to get the proceedings over with as quickly as possible.

With the guests of honour departed, Margaret Sitta called the elections open by standing down the old committee, and while she made her way to sit with the rank and file in the main body of the auditorium a group of female teachers stood up and applauded her. This angered congress who called at them to "*Acheni kupiga kampeni*" ("Stop campaigning") and further shouts of "*Muda! Muda!*" ("Time! Time!"). As the regional and district secretaries had no vote they were called out to come and sit at the front of the auditorium. Though, they had the general brief to "observe" and to "report back" it was clear that their actual role in the proceedings was ill defined and hardly warranted their per diems. As one secretary told me later outside the conference hall, "*Nasikia kama ninakula pesa za chama bure!*" ("I feel like I'm eating the Union's money for no reason!").

Concerning the voting itself, Yahya Msulwa as expected secured 250 out of the 253 votes cast and continued in the office of TTU General Secretary (For a comprehensive record of the results see Appendix C). Richard Mfunu won the post of Vice-President easily securing 228 votes. The margin of victory was in part down to his opponents' weaknesses, as one contestant made the unpopular pledge to divide the Union up into one section for primary school teachers and one for secondary teachers. Another contestant was clearly out of her depth and when she rambled on past her allotted time delegates shouted out "*Hamna! Hamna!*" ("No way! No way!"). The image that this insult projected was a far cry from the unified front displayed during the march.

It had been felt in some quarters that Margaret Sitta was merely using the Union as a stepping stone to higher political office, and that she might be offered a special seat in parliament after the National elections (F/N 18/5/2000). This did not in fact happen, as she became instead the President of the Tanzania Trade Union Congress (TUC). Nevertheless, it was surprising that the much-anticipated challenge to her presidency did not materialise, as she was re-elected unopposed. This was because Oluche had decided that he was not going to stand against her, "After meeting with Msulwa and her (Margaret Sitta) in Dar before the elections I was persuaded that it would be best for the Union if I competed for the post of Deputy-General Secretary. I would have beaten her" (EO, F/N, 31/5/2000).

Whether Oluche would have won or not is debatable, as he was only able to poll less than half of the total votes cast in his own election to Deputy General Secretary. The reasons for this were fourfold. First, there are many in the Union who did not want to see a return to a Mashanga like militant style of leadership. Secondly, whereas some voted for Oluche because they felt he would be a useful "check and balance" to Sitta's close links to CCM (F/N 19/5/2000) others felt that the two would not be able to work together. Thirdly, the militant wing's vote was split between Oluche and Mashanga's right hand man at the time of 1993/1994 strike, Sayi Mdongu. Lastly, there were twelve candidates

contesting the post and some of these appeared to be standing in an attempt to split the vote. As it was he had to fend off a barrage of questions concerning his membership of the Union and eligibility for office. Though he denies the allegation (F/N, 31/5/2000) it is quite probable that he may have planted these questions himself to clarify his status.

The last of the top Union posts to be decided was that of Union Treasurer, and as with all the other elections discussed the first term treasurer lost her office and was replaced by Anthony Nyondo. After this delegates began to succumb to tiredness and hunger and at 7.50pm I saw the first of many delegates asleep in a chair. Small groups of secretaries were also starting to leave the building. Whatever the reason for their exit it did not create a positive impression to Arusha's townsfolk as they were wearing yellow T-shirts and were instantly identifiable.

While Morogoro's Margaret Mkanga contested and won the office of National Disabled Representative, the elections of the Zonal Co-ordinators highlighted a constitutional flaw in the hastily arranged compromise deal thrashed out in Iringa. The District Chairman for Morogoro Rural explained the problem. "One thing I have noticed is that we have a problem with our constitution and that the zonal reps. should not be elected here. This should be done back at the regions...Why should somebody from Bukoba (on the western shores of Lake Victoria) vote for the Eastern Zone's Representative" (F/N, 19/5/200). One compromise solution could be that the responsibilities of the Zonal Co-ordinators could be shared by that zone's regional secretaries on a rotational basis. Certainly something had to be done, as it was clear that many prospective candidates saw the position as a chance to gain extra allowances. For example one regional secretary contested the post of Eastern Zonal Representative, and provoked one angry delegate to stand up and say, "*Unataka kufanya biashara gani?*" ("You want to do what kind of business?").

A further example of this occurred when another representative from the south of Tanzania stood up to contest the post of Southern Zonal Co-ordinator. He had taken off his yellow hat and T-shirt, but one delegate was able to see through his disguise and asked him about his experience. When he replied that he was actually a regional representative the audience jeered a loud "*Haya! Haya!*" ("Shame! Shame!"). This was the face of the Unions' elections I was not supposed to see and the numbers of delegates engaged in voting for these posts gradually dropped as the night draw on. For example while 253 delegates voted for the General Secretary, only 227 participated in the ballot for Eastern Zonal Co-ordinator (CWT, Press Release, May 2000).

Overall Evaluation of TTU's Elections

Overall, it would be just to conclude that TTU's 2000 Elections were fair and democratic. However, although the constitution was followed to the letter at branch, district, region, and national levels a number of worrying concerns did emerge. These were as follows.

- At the two branch elections observed the outgoing committees failed to prepare written financial accounts or reports of their activities over the preceding six years.
- At the district and regional elections, candidates contested for a post which they had already competed for and lost at a lower tier.
- In some cases candidates sought election to more than one office. This was especially true at the National Elections when two regional secretaries competed for the newly established posts of zonal co-ordinators. TTU's representatives should be forbidden from holding more than one office.
- At all the observed elections the previous term's treasurers were voted out of office. Moreover, at the branch, district, and regional elections evidence of financial misuse of Union funds came to light.
- The Union's Regional and National elections need to be long enough to ensure that delegates have sufficient time to digest the subject matter of reports, and perhaps more importantly are not required to vote in the middle of the night.

- TTU's elections are very expensive to run and the Union has to keep a watchful eye that a substantial proportion of its finances is not lost on representatives' allowances. There are three possible solutions to the problem. (A) That the Union seeks to pass through congress an amendment to the constitution, which extends the duration of the period of office from three to five years. (B) That the Union seeks to reduce the size of the National Congress by reducing the number of regional and national representatives. (C) For TTU to implement both A and B.

Overall Evaluation of TTU's Performance

Since the voting out of Peter Mashanga in 1997, TTU has made significant strides forward. Through its "study circle" programme its members are now more aware of their rights than they were in 1992. Teachers have also benefited from the establishment in 1998 of the Primary Education Network and the districts' various savings and credit societies. A new constitution has been ratified and through the help of its bonds with the wider teachers' union movement TTU now has a policy document and manifesto of aims for the future. It is also continuing to campaign for the establishment of negotiating machinery, and had been successful in negotiating the payment of a substantial part of its members' arrears.

Despite these accomplishments the Union is still overloaded with representatives at branch and district levels and has been profligate with the percentage of its membership dues allocated to representatives' allowances. Moreover, it also needs to find alternative sources of income to provide security for its long-term future, foster stronger links with local head teachers, and attract more private school teachers into the Union. The Melela School Hostel is one rare example of a Union activity in which improvements in teachers' financial position can go hand-in-hand with improvements students' well being, and TTU should always be considering how the profession can improve the provision of education in the country.

As far as teachers' face-to-face negotiations with government officials are concerned, it would seem that they follow a ritualistic pattern of contest. Like a "tug of war"⁹⁴ the Union pulls on one end, and "sings a song" (Margaret Sitta, F/N 19/5/2000) from a well-thumbed hymn sheet of teachers' demands. Poetry and drama are performed and points are emphasised by audience participation. Pulling on the other end is the government official, who says that he would like to meet their demands but because of "budget squeeze" that would be only possible if the country's productivity improved and the state was able to collect increased tax-revenue (Sumaye, 2000). Sometimes promises are made – such as the president's commitment to pay teachers' salaries by the 25th of the month (Mkapa, 1998:8) – but not kept. After this the rope snaps, and the two sides break-up exhausted from their exertions having resolved few of their differences. Sadly the needs of the nation's schoolchildren remained lost somewhere in the middle of the Union's conflict with government. In the next chapter we will consider the effects that Tanzanian teachers' poor economic position has on the delivery of education in Morogoro Municipal District.

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See TTU's 1999 World Teachers Day celebrations in Kilombero.

Chapter 5

“School Environment”

Most people teach because they can't get another job. Nobody will tell you that it is a wito (call) anymore. That was Nyerere's idea... Well they might but I wouldn't believe them! (GM, 26/11/1999).

In this, the second of our contemporary chapters, our attention moves away from the national picture and our discussion of the Tanzania Teachers Union's efforts to promote its membership's rights and improve teachers' standard of living, to the local school environment and an evaluation of Tanzanian teachers' professional performance. In particular, I will attempt to locate the school within its cultural setting and explore the influence that Tanzanian teachers' poor economic position has upon their ability to fulfil their professional responsibilities dutifully, and the integrity of the school experience. The chapter is built around data derived from a period of ethnographic research in a single Tanzanian secondary school (Morogoro Secondary),⁹⁵ and is used to foreground the school's cultural background, and to illustrate the specific social and economic function that the school fulfils in teachers' lives. However, before I begin to recreate the life of the school, it is helpful to provide a brief recapitulation of my argument to date, and to supply some further contextual detail about the provision of education in Morogoro region.

Thus far, the discussion has attempted to provide an explanation for Tanzanian teachers' current financial predicament through an historical biography of the profession that

⁹⁵ Though I have endeavoured throughout this thesis to obscure people's identities when they disclose potentially negative practice or information, any attempt to do so with an institution such as Morogoro Secondary would be futile. This is mainly because the school is so well known, as it was in 2000 the only government secondary day school in the town. However, this is not my only reason for releasing its name for as we shall see later in the chapter Morogoro town's specific status as a “workshop centre”, and its proximity to the town's bustling economic centre mean that its teachers can avail themselves of specific business opportunities not to be found elsewhere. Moreover, its involvement in the 1993 strike gives its staff-room a unique political character.

chronicles the evolution of a number of defining features of Tanzanian teachers' everyday lives. I have argued that since the founding of the country's first government school in Tanga in 1892, Tanzanian teachers' lives of every era⁹⁶ have been characterised by a number of features that form a bond of professional solidarity across generations and educational level. Shared knowledge of the past is a central part of the present and integral to an understanding of Tanzania's unique educational culture. Indeed it would be almost impossible to interpret Tanzanian teachers' current behaviour without some understanding of their professional memory and the legacies of colonialism, *ujamaa* and *rukhsa* (laissez faire government). However, history does not explain everything and our picture of the context in which teachers work is not yet complete as it is also important to describe the current conditions in which they work.

My efforts to understand teachers' lives took me out of the school and into the wider society. Indeed, when I asked teachers to explain their work they found it expedient to take a short cut into the present by saying that their professional behaviour was a product of the *mazingira* (environment) (F/N, 7/8/2000). Though my informants found the term *mazingira* useful I have found it rather difficult to translate as it seems to be used as a synonym for "context" and covers the full gamut of contemporary Tanzanian life. As such it refers not the just to the school and educational cultures, but also to contemporary social mores and the prevailing political and economic climate.

Overview of the Provision of Education in Morogoro Region

Before we examine the influence that teachers' pay has on their performance in an individual school, it is perhaps beneficial to look at the general picture of schooling within the broader context of Morogoro Region. As the research adopts such a strong

⁹⁶ The only break in this chain of continuity was the comparative prosperity experienced by the profession between 1961 and 1964, when for a brief while it looked like teachers would inherit with independence their perceived "birth right" of higher salaries and increased political influence. As we have seen, however, this promise was never fulfilled as the Zanzibar Revolution and the attempted military coup on the mainland led to the subjugation of the labour movement and cleared the way for Nyerere's socialist experiment.

holistic, qualitative, epistemological stance I feel that my presentation of raw statistical data on the region's primary school enrolment and number of teachers' houses etc. requires some explanation. I do not want to leave the reader with the impression that I think it is any way meaningful to try and ring fence the "field" of Tanzanian education by studying it in isolation from other cultural and socio-economic factors. After all, teachers do not just inhabit schools but are also members of the wider world, and in the same way that the profession's poor economic position has meant that it has not yet reached a state of full "emancipation from society" (Chabal & Daloz, 1999: 4-8)⁹⁷, the school itself is no African ivory tower. Evidence will be exhibited to substantiate these comments in the following pages, but it is perhaps sufficient enough to say here that educational statistics form only part, and not the whole, of the context of teachers' every day lives. Nevertheless, they do provide evidence on which the student of African Education can make calculated hypotheses about the state of education. Perhaps even more importantly, these encyclopaedic statistics, form part of the profession's shared knowledge of the system in which they work and thus contribute to teachers' perception of their worth and sense of well being.

Statistical Snap shot

In 1999 Tanzania had 12,649 government primary schools (United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003:2) and 4,182,677 children were enrolled in standards one to seven (ibid, 2). The National Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)⁹⁸ was 77.1% and the NET Enrolment Ratio (NER)⁹⁹ was 57.1% (p.9). As a result of the country's Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme of the 1970s many of

⁹⁷ See section entitled "The Nature of Work and the Non-emancipated state" in Chapter 1.

⁹⁸ The Ministry of Education and Culture defines the Gross Enrolment Ratio as "the number of pupils enrolled in a given level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the population in relevant age group" (United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003: xii).

⁹⁹ The Ministry of Education and Culture defines the Net Enrolment Ratio as "the number of pupils enrolled in the official age group for a given level of education enrolled in that level expressed as a

Tanzania's 103,731 (56,764 males and 46,967 females) primary school teachers remained poorly qualified. Only 1.7% held either a degree or diploma and there were still 52,764 (46.3%) teachers with a Grade B/C certificate and in need of upgrading (p.8). This was a significant factor behind students' poor results in the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE). Out of the 426,569 candidates who sat the PSLE in 1999 only 82,419 (19.3%) passed.

The legacy of Tanzania's push for UPE was also evident in the secondary school sector as there were only 12,783 teachers (9241 males and 3542 females) (p.23) working in the country's 450 government secondary schools (p.28). Owing to this extreme shortage in secondary schools the transition rate from primary to secondary school was very low with only 41,238 (9.7%) of the 426,562 standard seven leavers able to find a government secondary school place (p.12). However, things were slightly better for those children whose parents could afford to pay private school fees, and a further 38,775 children were able to find a place in one of the country's 414 private secondary schools.

In 1999 the provision of education in Morogoro region reflected the national picture. 204,374 (122,490 males and 125,270 females) children were enrolled in the region's 636 state primary schools (*Ofisi ya Elimu, Mkoa wa Morogoro*, 2002: 2) and Morogoro Municipal district had a GER of 70.1%. As with Tanzania as a whole, a large number of the primary school teaching force was underqualified, with 3144 of the 5766 teachers working in government primary schools only educated up to Grade B/C level.

In 1999, Morogoro region had 26 government secondary schools and 630 secondary school teachers (*Ofisi ya Elimu, Mkoa wa Morogoro*, 2002: 2). The transition rate from Standard VII to Form I secondary was a particular problem and out of 3145 students who took the PSLE in Morogoro district in 1998 only 411 (208 boys and 203 girls) were able to find a place in one of Tanzania's 450 government secondary schools (*Ofisi ya Elimu*,

percentage of the total population in that age group" (United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 2003: xii).

Wilaya ya Morogoro, 2000). Moreover, there were also shortfalls in the number of classrooms, desks, stools, and teachers' houses. For example, Morogoro Municipal District required 569 new classrooms, 10,669 desks, 1040 stools and 971 teachers' houses (*Ofisi ya Elimu, Mkoa wa Morogoro*, 2000: 4). Since the start of 1999, the government had prioritised the building of teachers' houses and school toilets (EM, Morogoro Municipal Education Officer, F/N 6/12/1999).

Teachers' Upgrading

We have already seen in our discussion of TTU's petition to the Regional Education Officer at Kilombero, that the Union is very concerned about the long distance rural schools are away from upgrading centres.¹⁰⁰ However, no such problems exist for urban teachers and as of December, 1999 there were 401 teachers in the Morogoro Municipal district of C/B level and 303 of them were in various stages of upgrading (Morogoro Municipal Education Officer, F/N 6/12/99). 179 teachers were studying with the Primary Education Network (PEN) which had eight centres in Morogoro town. Teachers were responsible for their own fees, and paid 5,000 shillings a month for their tuition. Moreover, PEN provided opportunities for teachers to earn an additional income, and eleven tutors were employed. Each was paid 1,000 shillings an hour, and on average a PEN tutor could earn 60,000 shillings a month. Classes ran from 3pm to 6pm from Monday to Friday, but not according to the PEN Co-ordinator for Morogoro on the weekends. "At the start we were teaching on Saturday but we decided to change...because teachers' salaries are so low they needed the time on the weekends to take care of their own activities. Some have their own businesses. Also many teachers are parents and needed to look after their children" (FE, F/N 6/3/2000).

A further 36 students were studying at Kikundi Teachers' Resource Centre (TRC). The TRC was opened in 1989 with help from UNICEF who painted the walls and put bars on the windows. Since 1995, the TRC provided adult education classes to people from all

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See the discussion of Morogoro region's TTU meetings in Chapter 4.

walks of life. It offered the following courses, (a) "O" levels for the cost of Sh 65,000 a person, (b) The forms one and two pre-'O' level test for Sh 65,000, and (c) "A" levels which were arranged through the TRC but taught by private teachers who made their own arrangements. By late 1999, the TRC employed five teachers who were paid a flat rate of 1,000 shillings for every hour taught (Kikundi TRC Co-ordinator, F/N 15/11/1999).

The idea of establishing TRCs in Tanzania came from a visit to Scotland in the early 1980s by the then Kilimanjaro Region Education Officer (MS/DANIDA/MOEC, 1996: 59). On his return, he set up a centre for teachers in Moshi town and in 1986 the MOEC issued a directive to regional and district education officers to establish similar centres (ibid, 60). Given the economic difficulties at that time it is not surprising that the directive was not implemented.¹⁰¹ However, enthusiasm for TRCs had not entirely disappeared, and in 1994 a MOEC concept paper was produced which envisioned TRCs conducting workshops and seminars to improve teachers skills, facilitating the upgrading of teachers, providing libraries on teaching methodology, and being a centre in which teachers' could exchange ideas and information (p.2). In June, 1996 a regional workshop on Teachers Resource Centres was held in Arusha at which the then Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Culture, S. Odunga, championed the pivotal role that TRCs could play in improving teachers', professionalism. "Teacher Resource Centres can help put professionalism back into teaching and provide the kind of support necessary to bring about radical improvement in the teaching learning processes" (ibid: 7).

Unfortunately, the introduction of TRCs in mainland Tanzania has not proved to be the panacea it was once hoped. Kikundi TRC had no library, duplicating machine, or teaching materials and for the whole of 1999 it had only been able to host one UNICEF funded one-week workshop on how to teach English to standard 1 students (GG, Kikundi TRC Co-ordinator, F/N 15/11/1999). The Tanzania Teachers Union was concerned by the TRC's inability to provide more professional support to Morogoro district's teachers,

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See the section on "Mwinyi's Presidency 1985-1995" in Chapter 2.

and it's district secretary, SM, acknowledged that it was "not working to its full capacity" and seemed to be functioning more as a "private school or business" (F/N 15/11/1999).

The Institute of Adult Education was formed in 1975 at the time of the National Literacy campaign. Since 1983, it has been providing secondary school education for adults who missed the chance to go on to secondary school. As of the 9th November, 1999 there were 514 students in Morogoro Region on the secondary school programme paying Sh 60,000 each for a year's study. The Institute employed sixty teachers who were paid Sh 1,000 an hour and teach on average six forty-minute periods a week. After ten weeks, they were paid in cash a sum of Sh 40,000 (Morogoro Regional Institute of Adult Education Co-ordinator, F/N 9/11/99).

The New School

In an attempt to try and increase the transition rate of primary school leavers to government secondary school, the District Education Office had begun work on a new day secondary school. Situated 5 kilometres from the town centre Kihonda Secondary school has been built upon the foundation of private/public partnership, and is an example of the positive role that philanthropy and community backing can play within the educational system.

In 1998, a charity dinner was held to raise some of the needed 80 million shillings for the new school (EM, Morogoro Municipal District Education Officer, F/N 6/12/1999). President William Mkapa attended the function, and guests paid 50,000 shillings for a ticket. A number of items were auctioned including, a signed photograph of the President which "went for millions" (ibid), a gold necklace, a gold Parker-pen, and a Zebra skin. In addition to this, wealthy members of Morogoro's business community pledged money to the project and over 42, 000,000 shillings was promised. The major donations came the proprietor of the town's soap factory and well known bus company Mr Abood who promised to build a classroom, and Mr.Colin Higgins in his capacity as Managing

Director of Tanzania Leaf Tobacco who paid for the building of four classrooms (F/N 27/3/2000).

Morogoro Secondary School

Morogoro Secondary is situated close to the town centre on Forest Road and is part of Boma Ward,¹⁰² and in 1998, had an adult population of 15,360 (7,940 women and 7,420 men) (ML, Acting Ward Executive Officer and Ward Education Officer Boma Road Morogoro, F/N 18/2/2000). Stretching up from the Old Dar es Salaam road to the foothills of the Uluguru Mountains, the ward was home to people of different economic status. Wealthy Africans and Asians occupied the low density housing on Forest Hill, while poorer people had recently established squatter houses higher up the mountain in an attempt to "escape taxation" (ibid). The school's foundation stone was laid in 1957 during the last days of colonial rule, and originally catered to the educational needs of the town's Asian population. However, with Independence and the end of educational racial segregation, the school opened doors to all Tanzanian children and is now very much a National Institution.

Student Enrolment

At the start of my fieldwork in 1999, Morogoro Secondary taught classes from Form 1 to Form 4, and had by the beginning of the second term of 1999 an overall enrolment of 1336 students (JN, Academic Mistress, F/N 24/11/1999).¹⁰³ Out of this figure, 572 were boys and 764 were girls. The school body was comprised of 310 students (133 boys and

¹⁰² The town is subdivided into 19 wards. Each ward has its own Executive Officer responsible for the maintenance of "security and peace" and Municipal Council revenue collection. Moreover, each ward has its own Ward Educational Officer who works in conjunction with the Inspectorate to facilitate the development of primary schools. "We sit on school committees. Look at the timetable. Ensure that the environment is clean. Provide counselling and deal with matters of discipline" (Acting Ward Executive Officer and Ward Education Officer Boma Road Morogoro, F/N 18/2/2000).

¹⁰³ JN explained to me that the best enrolment figure to use for any given year was that for the second term. She explained that because Morogoro Secondary was the only government secondary school in town it tended to gain a number of additional transferred students during the course of the academic year, as government employees moved to the town for work reasons.

177 girls) in Form 1, 367 students (151 boys and 216 girls) in Form 2, 296 students (130 boys and 166 girls) in Form 3, and 363 students (158 boys and 205 girls) in Form 4. However, from June 2000, things were set to change, as the school was to welcome its first intake of Form 5 students.

Though the school is officially classified as a “day school” and caters in the main to students from the region, there are a number of students from other parts of Tanzania. The quota system first established in Tanzania as part of the country’s commitment to Education for Self Reliance, and was introduced to provide an opportunity for children from regions with few available secondary school places an opportunity to continue with their studies. By the time of the research it was still operational, and though most students in rural schools come from the surrounding area a great of deal time and effort was spent on ensuring urban secondary schools reflected Tanzania’s ethnic make-up. “This complicates the selection process, and is important for Nation building” (F/N 26/2/2000). At the start of 2000, the school enrolled 320 new Form 1 students; 295 of these came from Morogoro Municipal District while ten came from Tabora and fifteen from Shinyanga (ibid). According to the Head, the origin of the intake varied from year to year and in other forms there were also students from Mwanza Region. Most of the students coming from outside the region were female, and for 80 girls fortunate enough to have parents able to pay the 75,000 shillings fee a year accommodation could be found at the school’s hostel.

All students paid an annual school fee of 40,000 shillings a year and their guardians had been requested from time to time by the school board to make additional contributions (IS, Deputy Headmaster Morogoro Secondary, F/N, 24/11/1999). Unfortunately, these contributions were often not forthcoming, and in 1995, many parents had declined to pay a 5,000 shillings contribution for a new toilet block, saying, according to IS, “My children can use the toilet at home” (ibid). While a current request in 1999 made to Form 1 parents to contribute 6,000 shillings for new laboratories was proving equally difficult to collect: “some will say my children only do Arts” (ibid).

If we were to base our opinion of Morogoro Secondary purely upon its students' performance in the national examinations then we would get the impression that it was a slightly above average Tanzanian government secondary school. In 1996, it came 9th out of the region's 22 secondary schools in its Form Four examination results, and placed 107th out of 506 in the national table (JN, Academic Mistress, F/N 24/11/19990). The results for 1997 followed the same pattern with the school ranking 11th out of 24 secondary schools in the region, and nationally 157 out of 543 (ibid). Out of the 287 students who sat their form four examinations that year 19 (7%) obtained the highest Division 1 qualification, 22 (8%) a Division 2, 51 (18%) a Division 3, and 163 (57%) a Division 4. 32 students failed to gain a classification.

Teaching Establishment

At the time of my first visit to Morogoro Secondary in November 1999, the school had a teaching establishment of 79, 55 of whom were female and 23 male. Teachers' workloads varied dramatically while the average member of staff taught between 12 and 18 hour-long periods a week, some teachers took as many as 24 periods, and one (the Home Economics teacher) as few as six (IS, Deputy Headmaster Morogoro Secondary, F/N, 24/11/1999). The prominent gender imbalance in the staffroom was again a result of the school's urban location. According to the Deputy Head, many female married teachers had been able to gain government transfers to the school on the grounds that their husbands were working in town for either local government administration or at one of the other various national teaching establishments such as Sokoine University. Out of this situation arose another anomaly, as some of the schools most "well to do" teachers were females married to male professionals working in the town.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Though most teachers either came to school by foot or bicycle there was one middle-aged female English teacher, BK, who was dropped off by her husband every morning in a Toyota Hilux. She had moved from her job at the Ministry of Education and Culture in Dar es Salaam to Morogoro Secondary two years previously to be near her now retired husband who was, at that time, working at the agricultural university (F/N, 7/8/2000). Though I have no concrete evidence to back up my comments here it is probable that this gender discrepancy in teachers' wealth can be explained by Tanzanian marital patterns. There is a commonly held belief that Tanzanian men tend to marry a partner who is of lower social economic status than themselves.

Though it was surprising to find this gender disparity in teachers' incomes it should not be taken at face value as it actually masks a much deeper of sexual discrimination that cuts across all sectors of society. That being that Tanzanian female teachers have less opportunity for further study and for engaging in additional income generating projects than their male counterparts. ML in her capacity as the district's TTU women's representative explains.

Much of female time is spent in domestic duties for which we don't get paid. Though some sell food and keep livestock the customs and traditions in Tanzania make it difficult for women to carry out other projects. Our husbands are very jealous and don't want us to carry on with our studies. This means that many of us remain poorly qualified (ML, F/N 18/2/2000)

All teachers were qualified to teach at secondary level and held the minimum requirement of a Diploma in Education (awarded after completion of Form Six and two years attendance at a college of education). The Headmaster was in possession of a Master's of Education from the University of Dar es Salaam, and there were two further graduate teachers from that institution. However, both the number of teaching staff and their level of educational attainment fluctuated dramatically during my fieldwork (IS, Deputy Headmaster Morogoro Secondary, F/N, 24/11/1999).

Indeed, such was the extent of the coming and going of staff that one teacher, TK, described the school as a "camp" (F/N, 7/8/2000). Though the imagery is perhaps a little vague I took it that he meant to depict a place at which teachers pitched up at for a while but sooner rather than later left. According to TK, the school had at the time of our conversation a teaching establishment of nearly ninety but the figure could drop to as low as one teacher a department. This was because on arrival at the school newly transferred teachers quickly "opened their eyes" to the many opportunities for further study Morogoro provided, and there afterwards spent their time trying to gain a place on a course at either the Vocational Education Training Association (VETA) college, Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA), or the International Development School at Mzumbe (ibid).

Further Study

Teachers' desire to advance themselves with their studies is something positive, which could be built upon, and if harnessed could help to increase motivation and improve teachers' knowledge and skills base. However, it is unfortunate that because there are so few places at the University of Dar es Salaam to study education that teachers feel compelled to study subjects unrelated to education. Furthermore, the lack of places on the university's BEd. course seems to breed a certain degree of bitterness. "You stand no chance if you come from a small tribe and have poor A-Levels" (GE, F/N 26/11/1999). MT had recently been accepted at Sokoine University and described the hurdles he had to jump before finally being accepted. First, he had to fill in an application form, which cost 10,000 shillings, and after that pay another 10,000 shillings to sit an entrance examination. After passing the examination, he then had to put in an application for sponsorship to the Minister of Science and Technology and Higher Education. Even if this was granted, it was still possible to fall at the final hurdle as the MOEC might refuse to grant a release form (F/N 11/9/2000).

Teachers' motivations for undertaking further were both long and short term. MN had also been accepted at Sokoine University (SUA), and saw his opportunities as an opportunity to "*Jenga masilahi ya familia*" ("To build his family's welfare") (MN, F/N 8/9/2000). This was even though there was no guarantee that the extra qualifications would lead to him being promoted as his involvement in the strike had already put a black mark against his name. Nevertheless, studying at SUA also allowed him to increase his income in the short term as he would, (a) continue to draw his salary, (b) receive a daily meal allowance of 3,000 shillings a day, and (c) acquire an annual book allowance of 300,000 shillings a year. Moreover, as he was studying Agricultural Extension, there would be occasions when a special field allowance would be provided. GM, was also thinking of applying to take the course and rather interestingly explained that even if the qualification would not help with promotion within the teaching service, it could open opportunities in wider society (F/N 8/9/2000). When I asked him if this

could force him to stop teaching altogether, he said that it would not, and that he would continue to teach alongside taking up opportunities outside.

Conferences and workshops

Another factor contributing to the school's camp like atmosphere is the large number of conferences, workshops, and educational events held in Morogoro town. After the signing of the IMF agreement in 1985 specific conference centres sprang up in the Eastern Zone of the country, such as the Njuweni Hotel in Kibaha some 35 kilometres from Dar es Salaam,¹⁰⁵ and more latterly Bagamoyo for high level meetings. Morogoro is another popular destination, and a little less obvious than the others as it is farther away from Dar es Salaam. It has a number of cheap and expensive centres such as the Tanzania National Electric Corporation (TANESCO) college, the Oasis Hotel, VETA, the Morogoro Hotel and around 70 guesthouses. This last point is important, as teachers are not interested in luxury accommodation but making a profit from the per diems. RM is an ex-teacher who now works for UNICEF in Dar es Salaam and makes the following observation on the real meaning of workshops.

TANESCO in Morogoro is another centre. I've been to five workshops there. The donors don't understand that Tanzanians don't want full board accommodation. They want the full per diem instead, and I've heard people say that they view the per diem as being for the family or for compensation for time spent away from their projects. UNICEF's position actually sums it all up as they pay a "reduced subsistence allowance." Well you can't do that because you won't subsist...I do think it has become a genuine problem because people will either won't attend workshops, or will have low motivation without a per diem. It really hampers work! (RM, F/N 14/6/2000)

As with the "allowance culture" in general workshops have a number of associated evils. Most obviously they are expensive to run (because of the large per diems on offer) and take people away from their workstations. Secondly, they are not co-ordinated and are

¹⁰⁵ As Kibaha is outside the city limits people can claim a lucrative "subsistence allowance" even though Dar es Salaam residents can commute to a workshop daily by *daladala* (minibus) for around Sh 1000.

seldom tied into promotion. Thirdly, as the people who are most likely to attend workshops are those who hold higher office an “illusion of participation” is created as the same “stake-holders” end up going to all the workshops. Despite having worked and studied in the field of AIDS education for a number of years MM (the headteacher’s wife) found herself back in the classroom at Morogoro Secondary after working on secondment for a Non Governmental Organisation. She was disappointed that her experience had not been recognised with a post at the Ministry, and with the benefit of hindsight could see that her belief that her attendance at workshops would lead to promotion was unfounded.

The same people are invited to all the workshops! Sometimes you get an agricultural worker in a health workshop and he doesn’t contribute anything...You know I have a file of certificates saying that I attended these workshops but they don’t help with promotion. The Ministry doesn’t recognise them and will say, “What are these?” (MM, F/N 8/7/2000)

However, workshops do help to put much needed money into the local economy (LM, F/N 8/7/2000) and teachers have been able to make money opportunistically from Morogoro’s role as a centre. During the 1999 Christmas holidays, the Zonal Form 2 marking panel was held at Morogoro’s Vocational Education Training Association centre (VETA). As the research school backs on to VETA quite a large number of teachers were able to get *kazi ya muda* (‘short time work’) by opportunistically been selected as markers. Though teachers give vague figures when asked how much money they were paid from the exercise, it appears that they comfortably cleared the equivalent of three months’ salaries. It appears that the exact figure depends upon what subject a teacher marks and how many other markers there are. For example Mathematics, English and Swahili teachers have so many papers to mark, they could earn as much as 300,000 shillings. A science teacher usually is paid around 300 shillings a script. An arts marker Sh 500 a script, and a science teacher could earn as much as Sh 60,000 for marking practical examinations and Sh150, 000 for theory papers (F/N, 10/2/200).

Truancy and Teachers' Absenteeism

It is not teachers' absenteeism that contributes to the school's "camp" like feel, but the constant coming and going of children playing truant. Unlike the high performing Forest Secondary school,¹⁰⁶ Morogoro Secondary has no perimeter wall, and thus is neither able to keep students in school nor to shut society out. CK showed me how easy it was to escape the school, and said that students truanted because they had already covered the syllabus in tuition classes (F/N, 7/8/2000). He added that in some cases students had been told by their parents that they only had to do well in some subjects, and thus students felt that there was no need to go to the rest of the classes (ibid). We shall return to the issue of tuition in more detail later when we consider teachers' additional income generating activities. However, a much more likely reason for students' truancy is that there is no guarantee that there will be teachers in school to teach them.

The school operates a double shift teaching system, with the first session of the day running from 7.30 am to 1.50pm. The afternoon session starts at 1.15 and finishes at 6.10pm. All Form Four students are taught in the morning session whilst Forms 1-3 alternate between morning and afternoon classes on a weekly basis. However, the school day seldom begins at the appointed time and teachers are sometimes caught out when the shift pattern changes. At other times, there seems to be a lack of urgency to get to class. Sitting in the staffroom one morning I listened in as MR, a young female teacher of Biology, hold a conversation with the only other teacher in the room OM. She was already 25 minutes late for her class and on the way out of the door realised that she had a letter in her pigeonhole. She said, "I will read this letter first and then go and teach." OM told her to "teach first!" but she did not and opened her mail. After a few minutes she changed her mind, "You are right the letter is very long and *tabu tu* (only problems)" (F/N, 9/8/2000). An even more dramatic illustration of the link between teachers' absenteeism and students' truancy came when I observed a *zamu* (duty) teacher giving her morning assembly at the 7.10am. roll-call.

Talking in Swahili and carrying a stick, she spoke to the small cluster of children, chastising them for making too much noise - which she said had become a bad habit. She then, much to the bemusement of those children present told them that they should stay in the classrooms during teaching hours "whether there is any teacher in your class or not!" Seeing the humour of such a farcical, comment many of the children giggled while the duty teacher continued unperturbed...Soon after, the assembly was broken up and those children who had arrived in good time for roll-call went off to their empty classrooms. The duty teacher on the other hand, positioned herself near the main entrance to the school in order to catch any late comers (this seemed a particularly hopeless task, as there were any number of entrances into the school). The first students to arrive late received three whacks on the palm of their hands, while some more fortunate latecomers dodged the punishment altogether by entering the school behind her back. After a while the teacher - perhaps recognising the futility of the exercise - gave up on the beating and made her way back to the staffroom. This meant that those students who were to arrive even later received no punishment at all (F/N 13/9/2000)

Teachers' Housing

Unlike the new school at Kihonda, Morogoro Secondary does have ten teachers' houses, which are allocated to members of staff by the school's accommodation committee. A 12.5% deduction of a teacher's salary should be made at source but this doesn't always happen, and therefore those teachers who are lucky enough to get a school house are often only required to pay their electricity bill. Eight of these houses are for separate family units, while there is one four-bedroom house each for bachelors and spinsters. Though occupants of these two houses were supposed to go when they got married it was clear to the Deputy Head that some teachers were intent on "staying permanently" (IS, Deputy Headmaster Morogoro Secondary, F/N, 24/11/1999). One of the married occupants of the bachelor's quarters, AK, was kind enough to show me around his home and openly admitted that he had got his room by "*ujanja sio bahati*" ("trickery not luck") back in 1994 (F/N 26/11/1999).

His trickery was unfortunately at other recently qualified teachers' expense as Morogoro Secondary has no guest wing and according to NM there have been occasions in the past when a new teacher has been forced to bed down in the staffroom. A new teacher to the school would not just have to find lodgings but also pots and pans, furniture and a mattress. The late arrival of their salaries and their subsistence allowances further aggravates the situation. Msulwa's petition to President Mkapa at TTU's National Elections in Arusha identified 200 teachers who had been employed in 1999 and January 2000 who had yet to receive any money for their employment (Msulwa, 2000: 6).¹⁰⁷ When I asked a member of staff who was one of the 200 referred to in Msulwa's speech how he survived he replied, "*Ninakula hewa tu!*" ("I'm only eating air!") (F/N, 15/5/2000).

We have already seen other examples in this thesis of when teachers' trickery works against the interests of the profession as a whole. Tunakopesha Ltd. was forced to increase its rates of interest on loans of household goods and building materials because some teachers were abusing the salary deduction system by either absconding from the profession, or getting a "friend in the Ministry" to "punch in the wrong numbers into the computer so somebody else gets the deduction" (Managing Director of Tunakopesha Ltd. Tanzania, F/N 13/4/200).¹⁰⁸ It was also strongly believed within TTU that Peter Mashanga had been embezzling Union funds,¹⁰⁹ and at Morogoro Secondary school it was rumoured that the reason why the branch TTU treasurer was voted out of office was because she had been loaning money "out to friends of the committee who were non-members" (F/N, 3/2/2000).¹¹⁰ The school's Head recalls another incident where individual teachers' private survival strategies clashed with the interests of the profession.

¹⁰⁷ See the section on TTU's National Elections in Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁸ See section on "Tunakopsha Ltd" in Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁹ See section entitled "The Expulsion of Peter Mashanga" in Chapter 3.

¹¹⁰ See section on "Morogoro Secondary School TTU Branch" in Chapter 4.

The TTU branch has a project in which it sells the school logo to students so they can put it on their shirts. One day last year they (the TTU representatives) came to my office very angry with a group of other teachers who were running a similar project with T-shirts, saying they were undermining the Union. Anyway, I asked, "Do you have enough badges for all the students?" "No" they said. I then asked how much the T-shirts were – Sh 2,500. I examined the T-shirts and saw that they were of a good quality and said, "I can't really see a problem here. It's not affecting your market as you don't have enough anyway, and I can't see that it's exploiting the students". So I told them to go away. If teachers get an income, and its not doing any harm, then it's ok (LM, F/N 26/2000).

The Academic Year

The academic year begins in January and is divided up into two terms. In 2000, the school opened on the 24th January, had a mid-term break between the 21st and 28th of April, and closed on the 9th June. The second term ran from the 10th July to the 3rd December, with the half term holidays falling between the 18th September and the 22nd September. In addition to this, Tanzanian Government workers also enjoy a total of thirteen public holidays and the school will close when one of these falls within term time. Unlike the plantation workers discussed in the previous chapter, it would be true to say that the amount of spare time teachers enjoy constitutes one of their biggest *marupurupu* (perks) and contributes to the prevalence of moonlighting.

For much of the 1999/2000 Christmas holidays, the school resembled a "ghost town" and "I watched from my bedroom window a teacher attend to his *bustani* (garden), and frequently passed students clutching their exercise books. Presumably, on their way to tuition or on their way back" (F/N, 3/1/2000). A cynic could say that teachers were being paid for doing nothing. However, it would be just as valid to take the opposite view and see the holidays as productive periods. There are four reasons which give credence to the latter position; (a) teachers continue to teach in the gaps between terms, (b) that some students continue to focus on their studies, (c) that teachers attend to other economic

projects during these times, and (d) that students will also be involved in other activities that contribute to their family's income.

Education for Self-Reliance

The school's *shamba* (field) is located on the same compound as the Regional Educational Offices and sits adjacent to the school's teachers' housing. Covering a four-acre plot of land, the *shamba* lay fallow during my stay in Morogoro, and was only used by the local community for grazing. From the late 1970s, wealthy Tanzanian citizens began to build on the field's perimeter, and more recent encroachments have come from inhabitants from the high-density suburb Mandazini. The growth of Mandazini has brought its problems as the school has abandoned its attempts to grow maize due to persistent theft. Attempts to diversify its agriculture have also proved unsuccessful with an attempt to plant beans in 1998 returning little profit. The failure of the school's *shamba* has to be contrasted with the flourishing teachers' gardens that sit at the hostel side of the field, and though we cannot say that the school has a meaningful Education for Self-reliance (ESR) Programme it does have within its ranks self-reliant teachers.

At the time of my research there was a great deal of confusion in Tanzania as to whether schools were still required to engage in ESR activities. During the *Rhukasa* (*laissez faire*) years of President Mwinyi's time in office, the government had introduced measures to liberalise the economy, and relax the prohibition on public sector workers' involvement in additional money making enterprises.¹¹¹ *Rhukasa* not only led to the *de facto* abandonment of Nyerere's policy of *ujamaa*, but also to a "tremendous decline" (Millinga & Musaroche, 2000: 32) in the income generated through schools' ESR projects. By 1997 ESR activities in primary schools raised an average of 42 shillings a student (*ibid*), a fall in real terms of 41% of the unit profit per student in 1993. The figures for secondary education show an even more dramatic decline. In 1997 the unit

¹¹¹ For fuller discussion of this period see the section entitled "Mwinyi's Presidency 1985-1995" in Chapter 2.

profit per student from ESR activities was 577 shillings, a fall in real terms of 403% of the 1993 figure (ibid).

In the absence of any strong statement from the government, individual schools on the ground were faced with the challenge of trying to reinterpret Nyerere's philosophy of ESR so that it better fitted the demands of the new liberal economy. On a visit to my old place of work, Marangu Teachers College, I was surprised to see the following changes to the *mazingira* (environment).

The college was gripped by one of its marathon meetings when I arrived, and students stood outside the staffroom either gawking or cleaning – no change there then!¹¹² What was new, however, was that the old college piggery had been renovated (very smartly) into a day secondary school. AL was the new Head, and he bought me a soda and took me down to have a look. The school was intended to provide a place where the college's diploma students could practice, and was dwarfed by the college on the hill behind it. The school had Form One and Form Two students (one class of each) and a small teaching staff. However, everything did seem to be working and when I asked AL how he was coping he said "Oh business as usual" (F/N, 23/5/2000).

Unfortunately, unlike Marangu Teachers College, Morogoro Secondary school has neither used this opportunity for change to improve the provision of academic study nor to build-up the school's infrastructure. The encroachment by Mandazini's residents on to the school's *shamba* seemed to suggest that the school's land was in the process of being recaptured by society. Moreover, its teachers seemed to be taking instrumental advantage of the uncertainty, and disorder surrounding the government's policy on ESR by getting the students to do menial chores in the staffroom. One morning "I looked on as a group of students in yellow T-shirts appeared carrying cushions for the comfy chairs in the staffroom. I asked what the T-shirts were for and it was explained to me that they were doing "self-reliant activities". At this one teacher, GE laughed and said "*Hawapendi Elimu ya Kujitegemea. Wanpenda Elimu ya Kutegemewa*" ("They don't want Education for Self-reliance. They want Education to be Reliant") (F/N 7/8/2000). This kind

¹¹² For a more detailed discussion of the important role prior experience plays in the research process see the section entitled "Fieldwork" in Chapter 1.

corruption of the original principles of ESR echoes the criticisms of its implementation made by academics when the policy was first introduced (Mbilinyi, 1976; Gesase, 1976; and Besha 1973).¹¹³

As we saw in Chapter 2, one of Nyerere's main motivations for introducing ESR was a desire to put a stop to educated Tanzanians' elitist tendencies (Nyerere, 1967: 47). He felt that educated children were becoming alienated from their communities and were viewing themselves to be "too precious for the rough hard life" (ibid, 56) of the rest of the *wananchi* (citizens).¹¹⁴ ESR was intended therefore as a means by which stronger links between the school and community could be built. By the year 2000, it seemed as if teachers at Morogoro Secondary school had taken onboard the philosophy of self-reliance whilst at the same time retaining arrogant and exploitative attitudes towards the student body. The school's close proximity to the town centre, camp like atmosphere, and lack of perimeter fence meant that it was all too easy for students to truant. Moreover, teachers were also able to absent themselves without permission in order to search for the opportunities for further study, allowances, and *kazi ya muda* (short term work) that came with working in an urban school. Taking all of these features of Morogoro Secondary as a whole, it would seem that the current problem facing the school is almost the reverse to the one identified by Nyerere back in 1967. Morogoro Secondary school is not experiencing difficulties because its bonds to the community are too weak but too strong, and because of this it has failed to be "emancipated from society" (Chabal & Daloz, 1999: 5).¹¹⁵ I will give more evidence to support this claim when I discuss teachers' additional income in the following section.

¹¹³ See my discussion of Education for Self-reliance in Chapter 2.

¹¹⁴ Again see my previous discussion of Education for Self-reliance in Chapter 2.

¹¹⁵ See section entitled "The Nature of Work and the Non-emancipated State" in Chapter 1.

Teachers' Additional Income

The Tanzania Teachers Service Commission's Regulations clearly state that, "You (teachers) will not be able to undertake any other employment or activity for profit, without the written consent of your employer or in the case of private teaching without the consent of the Commissioner" (United Republic of Tanzania, 1990: 942). However, it is clear that sometimes teachers as citizens of *Bongo bangahiza* (hand to mouth living),¹¹⁶ operate *miradi* (income generating projects),¹¹⁷ and engage in *biashara* (business).¹¹⁸ The following quotation lays out the MOEC's position concerning teachers' involvement in additional income generating activities.

In principle, we have no objection to teachers doing extra income generating activities except if they effect time on task. In addition, the kind of business and where it takes place needs to be considered. The problem is when it takes place during school hours. Doing self-reliant activities is part of the philosophy of the nation and Nyerere's policy of "Self-reliance". It is very much the bread and butter of the country, and it is very difficult to criticise teachers for this. Though we had throughout the 70s that nasty thing the *mwongozo* (guidelines)¹¹⁹ it was waved sometime during the 1980s. It was obvious that there was a link between teachers' moonlighting and the philosophy of the nation and that the Government needed to show leeway and be more sympathetic. The only problems were the effects of this (Mr Mrutu, Assistant Commissioner of Education, F/N 13/6/2000).

Unfortunately, each of the different types of activity which teachers practice has a negative effect on the education system. Perhaps it is most worrying when teachers are

¹¹⁶ See Chapter 1

¹¹⁷ *Mradi* literally translates into English as 'project' and relates to a small-scale money making adventure that requires an element of forward planning.

¹¹⁸ *Biashara* equates to 'business', and is a more advanced type of activity than a 'project', and brings in more income. Sometimes teachers' other economic interests reach such an advanced stage that they find themselves 'self employed' in activities that have all the requisite features of a formal sector business. They might employ a number of workers, pay weekly or monthly wages, and have their incomes taxed.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 2.

forced to *bangahiza*, as teachers need to be less vulnerable from economic shock and less distracted from their professional duties. It is highly unpredictable as to when teachers will be struck by a problem that they can not solve, and teachers' work is constantly being disturbed by unscheduled problems. Projects however can cause less of a disturbance if run around the school timetable. However, sometimes they are not so well planned and teachers may absent themselves in an attempt to track down either suppliers or a market for their produce or goods. For instance, one weekday morning I was sat in a local hotel when I was joined by a teacher from the school. It materialised that he was trying to sell some of his free-range eggs. He explained that he would very much like to go into poultry but that he did not have the capital to buy the necessary refrigeration. After a while it became clear that the manager was in no hurry to buy any eggs, and the teacher excused himself saying that he had to get back to school for a departmental meeting (F/N, 9/10/2000).

Furthermore, teachers' projects can also be exploitative of students by putting undue pressure on them to become customers. RM "came across a story of a boy in Tarime who was selling *mandazi* (doughnoughts) in competition to a teacher at the school. She made the boy eat the money!" (F/N, 14/6/2000). What is particularly dangerous is when a project becomes a business, and starts to earn for the teacher concerned far more money than is available from teaching. Half way through my fieldwork, EK, became Morogoro's new Regional Education Officer. When I told him that my research examined teachers' involvement in *biashara* (business) he corrected me saying "*Siyo biashara bwana. Miradi!*" ("It's not business sir. Projects!") (F/N, 16/6/2000).

Though it is a justifiable goal of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (Chambers, (1997), & the Department For International Development, (1998)) to poverty alleviation to develop the small scale income generating activities of people who have no job to such an extent that they make their owners self-sufficient, it is highly problematic when applied to civil servants. Mrs. Olekambaine, the Executive Secretary of Teachers'

Service Commission is adamant that the prohibition of teachers' involvement in extra money making enterprises will remain. "Yes, it (the regulation mentioned above) will be definitely be maintained as extra business affects the profession. Extra work means exactly that, i.e. that it should be done after classroom hours. It has an effect on your time on task. For example if you have a piggery your concentration will be on whether there is food for them" (F/N, 14/6/2000).

Morogoro Secondary's Teachers' Income Generation

It was obvious from very early on in the field work that teachers at the school frequently engaged in *bangahiza* like activities, held projects, and conducted business. In equal measure, it was also evident that these activities impacted upon the delivery of education and teachers' time on task indifferent ways. By far the most controversial and diverse activity was tuition, and the bulk of the discussion is devoted to its various manifestations. However, before turning to tuition I would first like to introduce some of Morogoro Secondary's teachers' other income generating activities, by giving the following account of what activities the headteacher thinks his teachers are engaged in. I have inserted brackets after some of activities and will discuss them in more detail below. This is not just because they represent interesting phenomena in themselves, but also because they bring to light some of the most salient features of tuition, and help to explain why some teachers find tuition such an attractive proposition.

They might own a plot of land for farming. They could grow food crops such as maize, beans, bananas and fruits. They might plant new trees or even have a piggery unit...I know that teachers at my school farm because they often ask for the use of the school truck (1). Teachers may run a small *duka* (shop) or be involved in the selling of second hand clothes and tailoring (2). Another example of how teachers *bangahiza* is the school canteen. The teachers (who run it) provide cheap and reasonable food, the students, and other teachers use the service...I can see that the business is doing well as one of them is quite fat now (3). They also get money from tuition and teaching in nearby schools, with or without my knowledge. They teach this tuition in organised tuition centres or at home with one or two students (5). Some take photographs of students, or act as Masters of Ceremony at weddings etc. - this is quite a boom

industry (4). Others sell crafts and goods etc. They might also get some money from involvement in cultural activities like *ngoma* (traditional dancing) (LM, F/N 26/2/2000).

1. Farming

Teachers' most enduring link to wider society is through the land, and farming has proved an invaluable standby in times of austerity.¹²⁰ However, farming is very difficult to observe in an urban setting because it takes place outside of the municipal boundaries. Morogoro Secondary's teachers' farms are therefore either on the outskirts of town and/or back in their home areas. While MK had recently paid 200,000 shillings for a plot of land near Kihonda (F/N, 25/11/1999) AK's coffee *shamba* was back in Kilimanjaro being looked after by family members (F/N, 26/11/1999). TTU's District Secretary, SM, was born in Morogoro and finds time to combine farming with his work with the Union.

My father was a farmer and he told me when I started teaching that I should not give up farming. I've always farmed and I am happy that I took his advice. Farming is a much better business than tuition because it gives you *pesa* (money) and *chakula* (food). I gave up taking tuition when I found that I didn't have enough time for farming. Most teachers who have big tuition businesses can't farm! (SM, F/N 17/5/2000).

Unlike other Tanzanian regions, Morogoro has "no single cash crop" (MS, F/N 4/1/2000) and SM is able to grow maize, rice and potatoes. The price he receives for his produce depends upon the time of year. A sack of maize might sell for 8,000 shillings when it is being harvested between July and August. However, after this the price will steadily rise and can get as high as 18,000 shillings in February. The price of rice is also seasonal and starts off at between 10 and 12 thousand shillings at harvest time (June and July) and can top 25,000 shillings in April (F/N 17/5/2000). One of the new A-level teachers to the school had worked in four different regions (Tabora, Rukwa, Kigoma and Morogoro) since gaining his degree from the University of Dar es Salaam in 1987. He had become an expert at economically establishing himself at a new station and would use his transfer

¹²⁰ We have already seen in chapter 2 how teachers "returned "to the land during the Great Depression of the 1930s and the economic crisis of the early 1980s.

allowance to take advantage of these fluctuations in cash crop prices. Buying as close to harvest as possible, he would hire a room and pay for a *mlinzi* (guard) to look after his stockpile, and wait nearly a year until the price was at its highest before selling at a handsome profit (F/N, 14/9/2000).

As well as farming teachers could also have a small *bustani* (garden) and keep livestock. Though the keeping of livestock on National Housing is prohibited (the school's teachers' accommodation falls into this category) for sanitation reasons the regulation is openly flouted.¹²¹ The headmaster for example kept cows and chickens at his home (F/N 12/11/2000) and this meant that he would have to pay local taxation to the Ward Executive Officer. The annual rates of taxation on livestock in Boma Ward Morogoro for the year 2000 were 1,000 shillings for a cow, 800 shillings for a calf, 800 shillings for a pig, 800 shillings for a goat, and 200 shillings for a chicken (ML, Ward Executive Officer Boma Ward Morogoro, F/N 18/2/2000).¹²²

2. Retail

Taxation was also a factor for those teachers wishing to open a shop or start a *biashara ndogo* (small business), as they would have to obtain and display their licences. Small shops would pay 3,000 shillings a month for a licence, while petty traders in the market or on stalls on the side of the road would pay a daily rate of 100 shillings. More substantial enterprises such as bars, hair salons and the school canteen would pay the same amount as these other traders in a single lump sum of 60,000 shillings (ML, F/N 18/2/2000).

¹²¹ The actual regulations demand that the keeping of pigs and chickens is forbidden in government housing unless there is a modern hut. One angry teacher from Morogoro Teachers college's primary school however said that people continue to keep them out of "stubbornness" (F/N 26/10/1999).

¹²² This kind of taxation may seem extremely predatory to western eyes, and ML did at least admit that the revenue collection for chickens was "not followed up on" (ibid).

3. The School Canteen

The canteen was the hub of the school's social life, and also a private business, as the school leased two of its buildings to three teachers for the sum of 25,000 shillings a month (IS, Deputy Head Teacher Morogoro Secondary, F/N 24/11/1999).¹²³ The canteen catered to staff and students who ate in separate rooms, and did not sell alcohol but tea and skewers of grilled meat for 50 shillings, and plates of *chipsi mayai* (egg and chips) for 500 shillings. Owing to the amount of competition in town it could not afford to put up its prices too high, "the students couldn't afford that much anyway" (GE, 24/11/2000), and therefore was an example of a business that though dependent on students as customers was not exploitative. Teachers also liked the service because they could sign for food on credit and perhaps eat a meal towards the end of the month that they might not have otherwise enjoyed.

A lot of my time was spent experiencing the school's "canteen culture" firsthand, and the conversations that I had in the canteen were slightly more "offstage" (Scott 1990: 4) than those held in the staffroom and revealed a hidden political dimension to teachers' performance. The canteen was also the school's *kijuweni* ('jobless corner'). In wider society the *kijuweni* is a place where people meet to conduct "deviant" activities such as shady business deals. It is often situated on the veranda of a bar or any location which affords a good view from which to see the arrival of the police. I found that when in Morogoro Secondary school's *kijuweni* teachers behaved like subaltern (lower rank) officers in an army barrack,¹²⁴ and put on an appropriate performance for this kind of theatre by engaging in anti-establishment discourse. Part of the act was not talking about pedagogical matters, and rather like the TTU meetings described in the previous chapter

¹²³ This figure of 25,000 shillings is disputed by one of the canteen's managers GE who says the lease costs 50,000 a month (F/N 24/11/2000).

¹²⁴ For a fuller discussion of Subaltern Studies see the section entitled "Subaltern Sentiment" in Chapter 1.

conversations in the school canteen tended to focus upon problems with their employment.

The school's involvement in the 1993/1994 Teachers' Strike meant that its staff were perhaps more politicised than teachers at other schools. One member of staff, MB, told me in the canteen that he held the opinion that teachers had a "*frowning relationship*" with the State which was characterised by mutual mistrust, with the government frowning at the teachers and the teachers in turn frowning back.¹²⁵ Not holding back his contempt for the establishment, he went on to say that in response to MOEC directives or orders from above, teachers might say "Yes, but mean a big No" (MB, F/N 5/8/2000). However, I never heard a teacher express a political affiliation to a particular party and cannot say whether these conversations made a positive contribution to Tanzanian democracy.

During Tanzania's 2000 general elections, teachers were heavily involved in voter registration, the supervision of polling centres, and the official counting of votes. This represented a welcome *kazi ya muda* (short-term work), as teachers were to be paid 6,000 shillings a day in per diems for the supervision. Indeed, BE had managed through his connections, to find work for himself and GM as election supervisors and told me that on getting the news of his selection he had turned to his friend and said, "*Njoo, tunaweza kula pesa pamoja*" ("Come we can eat the money together") (F/N 22/10/2000). However, the National Electoral Commission had been criticised after the 1995 General Election for not paying these allowances (Eastern and Southern Africa Universities Research Programme (ESAURP), 1996: 26)¹²⁶ and as I left prior to voting day I am not sure if teachers were paid for this work.

¹²⁵ The actual Kiswahili phrase used was *Kugumiana*. Meaning to growl or frown at each other.

¹²⁶ See my coverage of "The 1995 General Election" in Chapter 3.

Despite having a more active Union branch than Morogoro Teachers College,¹²⁷ the Union was not very visible during school hours and was therefore not immune from canteen criticism. One canteen regular had this disgruntled comment to say after hearing the results of Morogoro Region's TTU elections¹²⁸: "I tell you this Union is going to die...there are too many primary school teachers and the Union does nothing for us. The Union uses too much money, and we can't afford regional representatives who come from outside of Morogoro Town" (F/N, 3/4/200).

4. Masters of Ceremony

As teachers are accustomed to public speaking, they often act as masters of ceremony at educational meetings like the celebrations of World Teachers Day in Kilombero,¹²⁹ and hire themselves out to private functions. (The Head gave an example of a lavish wedding party he had attended in early February 2000 at the University where the Master of Ceremony was a teacher (F/N 25/2/2000)). This *mradi* illustrates how teachers make money outside of the education system from skills acquired in the formal sector job. Moreover, it can also be very profitable as a Master of Ceremony can (depending upon how wealthy the client is and upon whether the teacher owns his/her own PA system) earn as much as 200,000 shillings for a night's work.

5. Tuition

Alongside subsistence farming, the teaching of private lessons is one of teachers' major sources of additional income, and one of the few ways that parents contribute directly to teachers' livelihoods (EM, Morogoro Municipal Education Officer, F/N 27/3/2000).

¹²⁷ See Chapter 4.

¹²⁸ See Chapter 4.

¹²⁹ See Chapter 4.

Sambo (1999) provides a very useful literature review of the findings to date, and criticises tuition for creating a “mercenary relationship” between teacher and student (ibid, 10). Mosha attacks tuition for perpetuating social inequalities in the education system (1997) and Mushashu has linked it to examination leakage (1997). In addition, Osaki (1996) feels that tuition encourages mechanical drilling. I hope that this work is not just rubbing new salt into old wounds, and believe that this study will contribute to the debate, as a number of the salient features of tuition emerge when we view it in the broader context of teachers’ changing conditions of service and their involvement in other additional income generating activities. These features can easily be glossed over when the practice of extra tuition is viewed in isolation. Seen on purely economic grounds the taking of extra tuition classes for money is a particularly attractive business proposition for many teachers. If we compare tuition with some of teachers’ other income generating activities such as farming or running a small *duka* (shop) then a few salient points emerge which help clarify why it is so prevalent:

- Tuition can be practised during the holidays and does not depend upon a yearlong commitment.
- There is no problem with supply and demand as the times at which teachers are most busy i.e. when they are marking examination scripts, are the times when students make the least demands for extra-help. The students have after all finished their examinations.
- The New Year and mid-year holidays offer different markets. Over the New Year teachers can find work coaching pre-form one induction classes, while with the examinations looming they can use the mid year break to take “cramming” classes.
- The education system provides them with a build-in stream of potential new customers.
- The setting up a tuition business requires little or no capital and thus no need to apply for a loan.
- The activity is untaxed.

- As teachers are in the main teaching what they already teach during school hours there is very little preparation involved.
- It is financially low risk as there are no perishable goods involved.
- The in-built power in-balance between teacher and student means that there is little chance of a teacher being reported for professional malpractice.

Tuition is perhaps best described as an unpalatable drug that improves the efficacy of the Tanzanian education system but cures none of the underlying problems. By obtaining additional income, teachers are able to top up their salaries and remain in a profession that they might have otherwise left. Whilst on the other hand, students are able to prolong their stay in the education system and even gain access to secondary and tertiary education as a result of the good coaching that they have received in Tuition classes. Those students whose parents do not have the ability to pay are clearly at a disadvantage here, and must depend upon the often hit and miss attendance of their teachers at class. The shortage of formal sector jobs in the country, plus the shortfall of 'O' and 'A' level places in the country, has meant that it is now extremely difficult to get on in life. A child attempting to find a form six place would have to do well in all the subjects of his/her expected combination. Therefore, as a means of helping the child some parents will pay for extra tuition. "Tuition will never perish! Parents feel obliged and want to help their children" (Morogoro Regional Education officer, 4/12/1999). A school for example may lack good teachers in one or all the subjects that the child needs to do well in and the parents may feel forced to seek help from outside. The fact that there are too few University places in the country also contributes to the phenomenon and "now even kindergarten children are going to tuition" (ibid).

Lest we get the wrong impression, it is also important to stress that tuition is not always exploitative and some take great pride in being asked to take extra classes. "Some times, you hear of teachers who go deliberately slowly so that they can get students. But do you think students will ask bad teachers to become their tuition teachers? No! The parents

come and find the best teachers. It is really not in the teacher's interest to teach badly as nobody will come to his (sic) tuition classes. It makes bad business sense!" (GE, F/N 21/2/2000). However, not every teacher takes tuition and some are ethically opposed to the practice and have abandoned teaching private lessons for money because they have found it either incompatible with farming, or have grown worried about some of its more negative side effects. Furthermore, teachers as parents are not just providers of tuition but consumers as well, and in some instances teach after hours free of charge (F/N 10/6/2000).

The name 'tuition' itself conjures up images of high quality, elitist education - perhaps a student in a one-to-one tutorial with a professor or a child in an exclusive English Public school. However, such a view of tuition is very misleading. Although it has been reported to the researcher that Indian traders and *vigogo* (the elite) may pay large sums of money for their children's tuition the actual figures involved are quite small. The highest charge that the researcher knows of is 3,000 shillings an hour and this was for teaching an expatriate Swahili. In fact the average fee in Morogoro seems to be around 300 shillings an hour for a home visit, and may drop to as low as 2,000 shillings a month for twenty one hour lessons. This later charge occurs when group tuition is conducted in hired out school classrooms.

Before moving on, it is worth pointing out that those who feel that tuition is responsible for rote learning in Tanzania are guilty of getting the 'cart before the horse'. Tuition reflects what goes on in schools and therefore it is the importance given to examinations by the formal education system which promotes rote learning and not tuition. The responsive nature of tuition means that if the way in which children at school are taught and assessed were to be changed, it would in turn change the way which tuition classes are conducted. Notwithstanding this, one teacher actually reported that tuition had a positive influence upon his classroom performance. "Yes it (tuition) does for the better. In a normal class, you don't really know what students' problems are but in tuition

classes you do. Sometimes you ask a tuition class student a question and he answers in a way that is so good that next time you have to teach that topic in class you use that explanation” (GE, F/N 21/2/2000).

Morogoro Secondary School Teachers’ Tuition

Morogoro Secondary school’s headteacher takes a very dim view of the tuition and follows the prescriptions of the Ministry’s 1998 ban on teachers using the school buildings for tuition classes to the letter (*Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania (Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni*, 1998). He says that he has never taught tuition and never would as it was not fair on the children of poor parents who could not afford tuition (F/N, 13/11/2000). Furthermore, he feels that even those children who could pay resented the practice and often complained when it came to payment, “This teacher is only interested in money!” However, he does admit that the demand is there and that “rich parents often head hunted the best teachers for tuition” and though teachers of Mathematics, English and the sciences are more in demand than others, parents would go to any teacher who they thought had a good reputation (ibid). This means that a teacher may be teaching a subject in tuition that s/he is not qualified to take, or that a secondary school teacher may take primary school students for extra classes.¹³⁰

The following field note is a response to the question, “How do you obtain your tuition students?” and describes the ‘enrolment’ process. It also shows the amount of negotiation that takes place when parents and teachers try to strike a bargain, the fickle nature of the market, and how difficult it is to ascertain whether a student is doing well/badly because of classroom or tuition teaching.

¹³⁰ Morogoro town also has a large number of undergraduates studying at Sokoine University and IDS Mzumbe who run tuition classes. Indeed MK has suggested that these un-licensed teachers contribute to students’ absenteeism, and cause more harm than good as they only teach what they know and skip the parts of the syllabus they don’t understand (MK, F/N 7/8/2000)

It is based on your form four grades. If you get good pass marks at school then people will get to hear. Sometimes you will be teaching and a parent will arrive at school asking to speak to you. The Head will ask, "Is it a school matter?" and the parent will say, "No it is private between me and him." When the parent comes I will ask, "Do I know you?" He will say, "No but I would like you to help teach my son or daughter". "Ok, how much are you prepared to pay?" With other students, it is just a matter of luck. For example, I once taught a very bright Indian girl and she did very well in her exams. I can not say it was me as all I had to do was brush up a bit. Perhaps she did well because she was bright. Or perhaps because she was well taught at school. Or because her parents cared about her education. What I do know, however, is that I got a lot of extra business through this and I taught a lot of Indian children. However, this stopped when I taught her brother. He was dull and I tried very hard. Even his father said he was dull. He failed his exams and I lost a lot of students (GE, F/N 9/9/99).

Despite his enforcement of the in-school ban, the Head said that it was impossible to "keep an eye on" teachers once "they are outside of the class" (ibid). As a result, he suspected that many of his teachers had small classes either in their own homes or elsewhere,¹³¹ as there were those who felt they could not "live without it!" In such cases he tries to persuade them to take up less problematic income generating activities such as farming, or at least wait until the holidays (ibid).

The Head puts down his firm stance on tuition to his "initial schooling" and "the example of the priests" that taught him (ibid). Another teacher with deep reservations over the tuition and the general slide of teachers' conduct is the school's Academic Mistress JN. "It worries me a lot. We just don't get enough money to do our jobs properly. I will still do things for free but in my heart I'm not happy" (JN, F/N 25/7/2000).¹³² According to her she used to teach tuition from 1980-1990 but has abandoned the practice because she saw "where it was going!" Her reasons were twofold. Firstly, she had noticed how it

¹³¹ See section entitled "Marksi za Chupi" below.

¹³² In 1999 she was Morogoro Secondary's "Teacher of the Year" and was awarded a prize of 30,000 shillings. As she does so much work around the school GE was in favour of her receiving the

could cause conflicts in the staffroom, “We get teachers who will tell the students that, this teacher can’t teach. Come and see me if you want to know about the subject. It’s terrible!” Secondly, she had also seen that sometimes students who went to tuition classes got so far ahead of the class that they did not even listen. “These students will also say to other students “she’s very selfish” or “she’s not a real teacher.” Why? Because I don’t teach tuition!”

She is not the only teacher to report difficulties teaching classes when the majority of the children have studied the content of the lessons in tuition classes. YS told me of the case of a teacher who struggled to cope with the school’s *mazingira* and insisted on going slowly through the syllabus even though many of his students had covered it in tuition. “They were all bored and complained that he went too slowly. Now he teaches in a better school somewhere else and is doing well” (YS, F/N 7/8/2000) while another teacher MS went as far as to say that when he teaches, he only asks questions to the girls at the hostel as they have less chance to go to tuition than others. “If they catch it then I know that the others will understand” (MS, F/N 7/8/2000).

Another reason why JN may not teach tuition is related to her status as a married woman. ML in her capacity as Morogoro Municipal District’s TTU Women’s Representative explains, “Some (female teachers) do take tuition but this is very difficult. If, for example, a woman goes to somebody’s house to take a class, or comes back late then the husband will think that she has a lover and she may be beaten” (F/N, 18/2/2000). Though this comment is very hard to corroborate, male teachers do seem to be more heavily involved in tuition than their female counterparts. This is most likely, however, to be down to the amount of time women spend on child-rearing and domestic duties. Those females who do take extra lessons for money tend to teach at centres which host either the Primary Education Network’s teaching upgrading programme or the Institute of Adult

reward again in 2000. Instead it was given to the teacher in charge of watering the school flower-beds (F/N, 22/10/2000).

Education's classes. Though these classes are sanctioned, teachers from Morogoro Secondary have also found a way to circumvent the headmaster's ban on holding whole class tuition by "piggy backing" their own private classes on to these official programmes. For example, MN hires a classroom at Mwere Primary school (an official Adult Education Centre) for 5,000 shillings a month (F/N, 9/7/2000), and, every Monday to Friday in term time, teaches a group of ten of his own students and others from different schools between 3 and 4pm (ibid). He charges each student 2,000 shillings a month and thus makes a net profit of 15,000 shillings.

Implementation of Ministry Policy

Part of the reason for the poor implementation of the MOEC's policy on tuition is that the organisation charged with responsibility for investigating allegations of teacher malpractice, the School Inspectorate, struggles to enforce the ban. This is despite being advised in workshops to extend the prohibition to include the teaching of tuition outside school buildings. To justify this position they quote, rather vaguely, the 1978 Education Act's definition of a 'school', saying that tuition teachers should register their tuition activities as schools.

"School" means any assembly, institution, organisation or place, by what-ever name called, which provide, or where there is provided, for seven or more persons, whether or not at the same time, primary, secondary higher education, or adult education, and in the case of instruction, given by means of correspondence delivered by hand or through postal service, the institution or place where the instruction is prepared or where the work of the pupils is received, dispatched or examine (The United Republic Of Tanzania, 1978).

When I interviewed representatives from Morogoro Municipal District's Inspectorate I was told quite categorically by one female inspector that there is "*hakuna tuition*" ("no tuition") in Morogoro (F/N 6/12/99). This is simply not true, and it would be hard to believe that the inspectors were unaware of what was happening at Mwere Primary School as it was only a couple of hundred yards away from their office. When I asked

another Inspector to explain her statement later he said, “You have to understand her position. She knows it exists but she can’t just come out and say it. It would make her look incompetent” (F/N 3/5/2000). While the inspector concerned gave her own rather cryptic explanation for her answer. “You must realise that many teachers are afraid of the Inspectorate and view us as the police. This means that our job is very complicated and very risky. Our job is to see and to write down. If we don’t see something then we can’t write it down!” (F/N 6/12/99).

The real problem with the MOEC’s position on tuition is that they have not really got to the nub of the issue. The problem with tuition is not that it is taught in school buildings, but that it may be taught badly and can have a negative influence on schooling in general and classroom performance in particular. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to supervise out side of the school, and if the prohibition were to be reversed then students and teachers attendance might improve.

Our problem has been that we have been unable to find these teachers and also that we have a narrow definition of where learning takes place. Learning is continuous and the learning situation is now very diversified. With computers and TVs etc, the demands are very different and we have the trauma to think a new. You know trying to deal with tuition is difficult. It’s just like holding a fish because you are not holding it properly. It’s slippery and keeps on jumping out of your hands (Mr Mrutu, Assistant Commissioner of Education, F/N 13/6/2000).

Marks za chupi

Though not a direct result of teachers’ low pay, the taking of extra tuition classes is also associated with some of the worst examples of teachers’ poor professional conduct. Major ethical issues arise when a teacher teaches his/her own class, or when female students visit male teachers’ homes for classes. The practice of giving extra marks at the University of Dar es Salaam in return for sexual favours is given the slang name *marks za chupi* (‘the marks of the pants’). Although the prevalence of *marks za chupi* in

Tanzania's institutes of higher education is often over estimated because Tanzanian male students do not want to be beaten by a woman, it does, nevertheless, exist (JK, F/N 14/10/2000). Indeed when I discussed the behaviour of one well known practitioner of *marksi za chupi* from Morogoro College of Education with a female ex-student of his I was told that, "It's true that he has that dirty behaviour" (F/N 23/5/2000). What was perhaps even more worrying is that she did not seem to be too concerned by the practice. "I don't know why you are so disappointed. It's natural everybody does it!" (Ibid)

It is telling that a female teacher should be so matter-of-fact about such a blatant breach of professional ethics as it reveals the prevalence of the practice in higher education and how, like the pursuit of allowances, many lecturers have become so accustomed to this behaviour that they no longer feel it to be strange. There are still those who view the practice to be highly corrosive, and are extremely worried about how it jeopardises the trust required in the student/ teacher relationship.¹³³

From May 2000, I was becoming aware that Morogoro District's TTU officials were growing concerned, "that a scandal was about to break at Morogoro Secondary as there were a lot of complaints about teachers sleeping with students" (SM, F/N 20/5/2000). On the following day, OM named the suspected "culprits" to be two of the teachers living at the bachelors' quarters. The first teacher to be suspected of sleeping with students was AK. This did not surprise me, for on an earlier visit to his home I had noted and that he had a "small blackboard in his bedroom" and how close he lived to the female students' hostel (F/N 25/11/1999). Indeed, when he saw me paying particular attention to the "blackboard" he had felt it important enough to assure me that it was used for the teaching of his own children. The second teacher was AK's friend BB who was at the

¹³³ During a conversation in the staffroom on the 9th August 2000 MB recalled how when he had been studying Education at the University of Dar es Salaam Teaching Practice was very poorly run. According to him, there was one lecturer (he is now so senior that it is impossible to mention his name) who wouldn't even come to lessons and gave his feedback in bars afterwards. MB told me that the lecturer had been very interested in female students and he gave a short impersonation of him looking at some girl's legs, and remarked "How can anybody so corrupt change things?"

time suffering from Tuberculosis and could possibly have been affected by HIV (F/N 21/5/2000).

Unfortunately, given the very obvious risk that children could be infected with HIV no official investigation into either AK's or BB's sexual conduct was ever launched. This was because of two interceding events. Firstly, AK was transferred from the school because of an on going altercation he was having with one of his neighbours. The employment and transfer of teachers is a very expensive exercise and the Government has a policy of not transferring teachers involuntarily, "We are not moving any teacher unless there is a clear reason" (Mr Mariki, Acting Director of Administration and Personnel F/N 13/6/2000). However, even though the Teachers' Service Commission claims not to prescribe enforced transfer as a form of punishment (TSC, Undated), there is a working understanding amongst officials that it may be used if it solves the problem at hand (F/N 19/2/2000).¹³⁴ For the teachers themselves to be transferred without an allowance is not the soft punishment it is often wrongly presumed to be, and is highly undesirable because of the following factors.

- The cost of travel for themselves and their families;
- The cost of possessions that either could not be moved, or were lost, broken or stolen during transit;
- The reduction in, or the complete loss of revenue from additional money making enterprises that were located near to the previous place of work;
- New costs established in setting up a new home. Alternatively, the dual costs in having two homes;
- Costs accrued by either the transfer of children from one school to another, or the transport costs in getting students to and from school;

¹³⁴ In this case it most certainly did not solve the problem as both teachers were transferred to the same school!

- The time spent without friends and additional income when the transferred teacher moves from one school another.

The second incident was that BB was to die from what everybody presumed to be AIDS. Though we can only hypothesise as to the extent of the problem, it would seem reasonable to infer from our discussion of teachers' sexual harassment of female students that there is a strong possibility that (a) male teachers are transmitting the HIV virus to children, (b) that this transmission is connected to the taking of extra tuition classes, and (c) that though not ubiquitous it is so widespread that one female teacher considers it to be "normal". It is for this reason that RM feels strongly that, "We have reached a position of "gross individualism" in Tanzania, and we need to start talking about teachers' Minimal Ethical Standards" (RM, F/N 14/6/2000). Moreover, it would seem to be imperative that those teachers suspected of being perpetrators of such grave unprofessional acts should be suspended immediately pending further inquiry so as to minimise their risk to children.

Teachers' Professionalism

The Teachers' Service Commission (TSC)

The Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) acts as the "judiciary" in discipline cases (Morogoro Municipal District Teachers Service Commission Secretary, F/N 23/11/1999) and has produced a document detailing the punishments that can be imposed upon teachers who break their terms and conditions of service (*Tume ya Utumishi ya Walimu*, Undated). It is most noticeable that tuition is not included among the eight general offences covered in the document; *Utoro* (Absenteeism), *Uzembe* (Incompetence), *Ulevi* (Drunkenness), *Mwenendo Mchafu* (Misconduct);¹³⁵ *Kashfa za Mitihani* (Examination

¹³⁵ This includes some of the most serious offences such as the entering into sexual relations with students, taking students as concubines, impregnating students, and committing sodomy and rape. Though all of these offences are punishable by dismissal from the teaching service allegations of this kind are extremely difficult to prove beyond all reasonable doubt in Tanzania.

Scandals);¹³⁶ *Makosa ya Jinai* (Criminal offences); *Kutotii* (Insubordination) and *Kupigana* (Fighting). Moreover, it is also interesting to note that despite its widespread use as a form of punishment enforced transfer is not listed as a possible sanction (Morogoro Municipal District Teachers' Service Commission Secretary, F/N 23/11/1999).

TSC also has a clear policy on the procedures to be followed when an allegation is made that a teacher has broken the conditions of his/her employment. Allegations can be made against teachers by students, parents, the general public, and teachers and should be investigated by the school authorities and/or the Inspectorate. In minor misdemeanours, such as the case of a teacher who is absent from school for less than fourteen days without permission, it is most likely that the inspectors will not be called and that a teacher will be disciplined in school by his/her headteacher. However, if the problem persists then the matter is taken up to the next level and the teacher concerned will have his/her case reviewed by the inspectors. If found guilty then s/he might expect to receive either a verbal or written warning from TSC district officials (EB, F/N 23/11/1999). More serious cases such as allegations of teachers having sexual intercourse with students will be first reviewed by the District Education Committee,¹³⁷ and then forwarded to TSC's National Board. During the calendar year 1998 to 1999 only five cases in Morogoro Municipal District were sent up to the District Committee and none were forwarded up to National Level (ibid). It therefore follows that during this period none of

¹³⁶ As with cases of lewd behaviour offences of examination tampering can also lead to teachers' expulsion from the service and include the offence of the early opening of the examination paper envelope with the intention to show students the questions. It was this practice that led to the cancellation and the re-sitting of the 1998 "O" level examinations.

¹³⁷ Morogoro Municipal "District Education Committee" is headed by a chairperson appointed by the MOEC, and is comprised of the District Educational Officer; a representative from the District Commissioner's Office; a personnel officer from the Municipal Director of Works office; one primary school teacher; one secondary school teacher; one representative from private schools; and the TTU and TSC district secretaries.

the district's teachers were found guilty of serious breeches of the code of professional ethics.

The Tanzania Teachers Union

In the previous chapter we saw how the Tanzania Teachers Union was most active in trying to improve teachers' welfare and defending their rights. However, TTU claims to stand not just for teachers' rights but for their responsibilities, and in its policy manifesto TTU makes a number of promises on "Teachers' Professionalism and Ethics" (Tanzania Teachers Union, 1997). Amongst other commitments it promises to make "regular inspection to evaluate schools in order to maintain professional standards", "encourage teachers to guide and care for each pupil personally and academically" and to be "an example of good work, neatness and good behaviour" (Ibid: 8-10). Unfortunately, the Union has not kept faithful to these promises and has been guilty of what I will call an "absence of comment on absenteeism". TTU's literature gives no mention of the fact that some of its members are not regularly attending classes and absenting themselves from school without permission. Furthermore, the Union has never made a public statement that either condemns teachers for their absenteeism or for their poor professional conduct.

There have been of course sound political reasons for TTU's silence over these issues. During the first few years of Margaret Sitta's presidency, the Union had to appease its more militant wing and convince its membership that it was not a camouflaged organ of the ruling party.¹³⁸ It was therefore forced to talk directly to its internal audience and to avoid any direct criticism of teachers' conduct. The Union declined to make any comment over the suspected leaking of the 1998 "O" level papers through tuition classes and continues to avoid making a firm condemnation of tuition. This is because it knows only too well that any such statement would prove very unpopular with its members. "I

¹³⁸

See the section "TTU's New Strategy" in Chapter 3.

feel that there is a need for proper research on the matter (tuition)¹³⁹ and to leave the present situation to continue unguided is very dangerous” (Margaret Sitta, F/N 19/1/2000). Moreover, The Swedish Teachers’ Union sponsored “study-circle” programme deals almost exclusively with teachers’ rights, and has been so successful at sensitising teachers on their terms and conditions of service that TTU has at its meetings with government officials become fixated with the issue of allowances.¹⁴⁰ Not only does this constantly put the Union on the back foot as it tries to undo the injustices of past wrongs, but also it fails to connect with the Tanzanian general public who would much rather see improvements in the quality of education.

As tuition remains such an attractive business proposition to teachers it is unlikely, in the absence of adequate salaries, that it could ever be stopped altogether. “Prohibition of teachers providing tutoring for their own pupils will only have a chance if teachers are already paid adequate salaries for their official duties” (Bray, 2000: 28). However, I would still argue that there is a very real need to exercise some form of supervision over the practice. I also feel that private teaching needs to be brought back into the comparative safety of the school, and I would concur with Bray when he suggests that teachers’ professional associations can play an important role in the regulation of tuition (ibid, 28).

Sooner or later TTU must talk to the wider external audience, and recognise that its best chance for an improvement in its membership’s financial remuneration would be to convince the parents that teachers are working so hard that they deserve pay increases. A second phase “study circle” on professional ethics here would make a helpful contribution to improving the profession’s performance and image. I think that TTU should no longer sit on the fence on this important issue but should look to take the lead in establishing a set of professional and parental guidelines on tuition. Amongst other

¹³⁹ Authors’ own brackets.

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 4.

things the guidelines could ensure that, a) teachers should not be teaching extra tuition to their own students, (b) that male teachers should not be teaching female students tuition outside of the confines of the school, and (c) that no tuition takes place during classroom teaching hours. If the Union were to do this it would engender some good will within the Tanzanian general public.

The School's Social Function

Given the circumstances of BB's demise, and the cloud still hanging over his sexual conduct, it is somewhat ironic that his death brought to the fore the better side of teachers' conduct and illustrated how the educational community can accomplish things when it pulls together. Ideally, the Head would have liked to have returned BB to his home area of Bukoba on the shores of Lake Victoria before he died. However, his condition meant that he was too sick to travel (and of course too ill to teach) and the school was faced with the problem of working out how to return his corpse.

BB was a young teacher, and had not started paying monthly contributions into a local burial society. Some of the major ethnic groups living in Morogoro such as the Nyakusa and Sukuma have their own local societies, which help the bereaved bury their loved ones. For example, in early November 1999 the husband of a Chagga teacher died. As members of the "Kibo Sports Club" the family had been paying a monthly contribution of 500 shillings and was able to receive considerable financial assistance from the society. 300,000 shillings was provided to pay for a mini-bus to transport the body and family escort back to Moshi. In addition to this, the society also paid for the coffin, the food and drinks provided to people paying their last respects at the house of the bereaved, and donated a special contribution of 390,000 shillings to help the family the difficult coming months (AM, F/N 10/10/1999). As BB was a new member of staff he had not had enough time to develop support networks within Morogoro's Haya community, and thus the only money available to pay for the funeral was the meagre assistance provided by

the government and TTU. When a teacher dies the government pays for the coffin (between 20,000 and 30,000 shillings), a small tombstone (7,000 shillings) and transport for the body up to a distance of 15 Kilometres. Depending upon the district, TTU will also contribute between ten and twenty thousand shillings (AM, F/N 10/11/99).

An additional problem was that the family, with the exception of one academic relative working at SUA,¹⁴¹ showed little interest in BB's death. It therefore fell upon the school to burden the responsibility and act as BB's surrogate family. The Head and his deputy had done some initial investigations into the cost of returning the corpse that revealed it would cost 600,000 shillings to fly the body from Dar es Salaam to Bukoba, and over a million shillings if they hired a vehicle and went by road (though, a train would have been cheaper they were unable to gain an accurate estimate). This was too expensive and the Head telephoned the Deputy Director of Education to see if they could assist with a vehicle. The request was turned down, and IS's face-to-face negotiations with MOEC officials in Dar es Salaam were equally unsuccessful.

Eventually, the transportation costs were footed by Morogoro Secondary Mutual Assistance Society (see below) and an allocation of funds out of the school budget. After many telephone calls it was arranged that BB would be transported to Dar es Salaam's cold room in Morogoro College of Education's mini-bus. The Head, his deputy and the school's TTU representatives were to act as escort, and though it was hoped that BB's relatives would have a chance to bid farewell to the body in Dar es Salaam they did not come. "This was strange as we had tried to give the transport as much dignity as possible" (F/N 21/10/2000). The body and IS flew to Mwanza on the eastern side of Lake Victoria, where they were met by Mwanza Secondary School's vehicle and driven to Bukoba. Here yet another school became involved in the transportation as BB made the journey from the town to his final resting place in Bukoba Secondary School's vehicle.

¹⁴¹

He later wrote a letter thanking the school for all its help.

Social Capital¹⁴² can be defined as “the glue that holds society together” (Fine, 1999: 2) and this vignette of BB’s death and burial illustrates the communal side of teachers’ everyday lives, and shows that in times of crisis they can unite to solve a particular problem. A further example of the strength of social capital embedded within Morogoro Secondary can be seen in our earlier discussion of the 1993/94 Teachers’ Strike in Chapter 3 when the school’s teachers rallied together to raise funds for suspended colleagues. The social function of the school is understood by the headmaster (I later learned that the Head had been very impressed by everybody’s co-operation over BB’s death, and the camaraderie shown by those teachers escorting the body (GM, F/N 22/10/2000)), and his ability to utilise the education system’s informal networks to transport the body revealed a high degree of “cultural expertise”. Unfortunately, even though the school had its requests for ministry assistance turned down the Head still independently made the decision to part fund the transportation of the corpse by money borrowed from the school budget. This *laissez faire* use of children’s school fees could have had a potential negative influence on students’ schooling, and shows how social issues can be given a higher priority than education issues. Moreover, it is a further example of how Tanzania’s bureaucracy is not yet fully institutionalised, and how office-bearers have wide discretion in how they allocate the funds they administer.¹⁴³ Chabal and Daloz give the following description of African bureaucracy which seems to capture perfectly the Head’s efforts to transport the corpse.

Mind-bending punctiliousness lives side by side with the most relaxed approach to regulations so that in practice there are within the same service instances of obstinate obstruction and well-practised accommodation. Thus, holders of state office, however lowly, are rarely ‘impartial’. Either they pursue their own ‘business’ interests¹⁴⁴ – that is the negotiation of their

¹⁴² For a detailed discussion of the term Social Capital see the “Conceptual Landscape” section in Chapter 1.

¹⁴³ For a more detailed discussion of Tanzania’s bureaucracy see the section entitled “The Nature of Work and the Non-emancipated State” in Chapter 1.

¹⁴⁴ See the findings of Mkapa’s “Presidential Commission into the State of Corruption” in Chapter 3.

service for a fee – or else they provide the favour which is expected, sometimes demanded, for clearly understood patrimonial reasons (Chabal & Daloz, 1999: 7).

Morogoro Secondary Mutual Assistance Society

The positive impression that he gained from teachers' solidarity over BB's death was very much in evidence when he spoke at a meeting of *Umoja Kusaidiana Morogoro Sekondari* (UMOSE) (Morogoro Secondary Mutual Assistance Society) on the 14th September, 2000.¹⁴⁵ The speech touched upon a number of issues including teachers' desire for further study and their everyday behaviour.¹⁴⁶

His opening remarks further entrenched in my mind the "camp" like quality of the school, as he talked about the pressure that teachers faced when trying to upgrade. He said that he had received the "release forms" from the MOEC for 13 teachers who were leaving to study at Sokoine University, Dar es Salaam Accountancy School, and the University of Dar es Salaam (F/N 14/9/2000). In words very similar to those used by the Regional Education Officer at the 1999 celebrations of "World Teachers Day"¹⁴⁷ he said that "Those who go on to further study become a challenge to us all." However, he also stressed that it would be impossible for everybody to further their studies because "If we all go then the school will die!" Accentuating the positive he suggested that this knowledge could help "contribute to society" and urged those going to study not to be

¹⁴⁵ As well as being members of TTU teachers at Morogoro Secondary have their own society which has been set up to assist, (a) teachers when close family members such as spouses, parents or children die, and (b) families of an UMOSE member when either a teacher/member of staff dies.

¹⁴⁶ The relevance of his speech to my own research highlights the methodological issue of reflexivity, as I am still not sure how much my attendance at the meeting influenced what was said. "As we waited to get underway he (the Head) queried me about my presence. "Oh you are here are you?" Thinking I had pushed my access envelope a little too far I got up to leave, but he gestured to me to sit down saying, "No, No it's Ok!" (F/N, 14/9/2000).

¹⁴⁷ The REO referred to teachers requiring a *dira* (vision) (F/N, 1/12/1999).

selfish with their knowledge but to share it with other teachers. “So that it could benefit their lives and serve as an incentive.”

The second part of the Head’s speech concerned the level of staff co-operation shown over BB’s death, and how teachers’ performance could be improved. He thanked them for their help but asked the question, “Why are we able to do it for the big things but not for *mambo ya kawaida* (everyday things)?” In an attempt to answer his own question he suggested that UMOSE could try and organise trips to other schools,¹⁴⁸ or even go on picnics in order to create the right kind of family atmosphere in the school.

Despite the headmaster’s final negative comments, his speech highlights the fact that when it comes down to “sharing knowledge” or financially pooling resources to solve a particular problem the “school” can act as a community in itself. Indeed, one teacher told me that Morogoro Secondary was a good school to work at because it had so many teachers from which he could learn (FN, 29/6/2000). Furthermore, it also shows that when it comes to either social or economic matters the school exhibits a high degree of social capital.

Systemic Problems

Picking up on the Head’s speech it would seem reasonable to try and see if there are any ways in which the school can improve its teachers’ attention to *mambo ya kawaida* (everyday things). According to GE one simple way in which performance could be

¹⁴⁸ Morogoro Secondary’s headteacher is not the only principal to recognise the need to expose teaching staff to other institutions. The Principal of Mtwara Teachers’ College had this to say on the negative impact de-motivated long term staff can have on the educational culture of an institution. “We also have a lot of lecturers who have overstayed and a relaxed atmosphere exists. However, one thing I am trying to do is to get people out of the place to see different things. Whenever, a workshop comes up I try and arrange it so that somebody different goes. Last year somebody went to Kenya and this helps change things slowly” (F/N 1/8/2000).

improved would be for the headmaster to be in school more, checking if teachers were in class or not (GE, F/N 22/10/2000). There can be little doubt that such a measure would work at Morogoro Secondary, as the Head is a strict disciplinarian with a high degree of professional and cultural expertise. This would seem to support the conclusions of research conducted into Tanzanian school leadership by Maro (1994). The study found that though most of the head teachers he surveyed were experienced teachers with good qualifications there was still a need to provide in-service training on school administration. Unfortunately, improved training is not the sole answer as there were a number of systemic problems embedded in the educational system that took the Head out of the school for long periods during the year. In some cases the very fact that his job came with a title was enough to get his name on the “invitation list”¹⁴⁹ and offered up plenty of opportunities to informally network, draw allowances, and “play the system” (Chabal & Daloz, 1999: xix).

Perhaps the best example is that of Form 1 and Form 5 selection, “All heads of appropriate schools are invited, and because these are important meetings they can go on for some time” (Headteacher of Morogoro Secondary school, F/N 26/2/2000). For most of April and the start March it was impossible for me to talk to the Head: “I’m not going to be here as I’m going to the Form Five selection meeting in Arusha for a month” (Headteacher of Morogoro Secondary school, F/N 3/4/2000). A good question to ask is why with so few “A” level places available does the process take a month? The answer is twofold. Firstly, “A” level places are very precious and all kinds of pressure will be asserted to ensure that as many students as possible from each region will find schools at which to study. Secondly, those involved in the selection would see it as being beneficial to eke out the process as long possible so as to get per diems. It is very hard to believe that the Heads are not aware that the selection could be done more quickly and yet nobody from their ranks publicly questions the exercise. This shows that

¹⁴⁹ See my field note entry for Morogoro Region’s formal dinner reception for Mary Mushi on the 2nd June, 2000 in Chapter 1.

negative or “perverse social capital” (Rubio, 1997)¹⁵⁰ is a feature of Tanzanian education system, and another example of the “instrumentalisation of disorder”¹⁵¹ (Chabal & Daloz, 1999: xviii) that shows how things no longer exist for their original reason¹⁵² but because of the hidden pecuniary benefits they hold. The long and complicated Form Five selection process and the Quota system for Form 1 remain part of the Tanzanian education system not because they help to build the Nation, but because they contribute to private income.

The second example relates to the widespread teachers’ survival strategy of trying to involve themselves in professional associations that offer allowances.¹⁵³ The Head was particularly good at “working the system” because his reputation as an honest broker meant that he was considered a good person to handle money, and was selected as the National treasurer of *Umoja wa Michezo wa Shule za Sekondari Tanzania* (UMISETA) (The Tanzania Secondary Schools’ Sports Association). As a result of this involvement with UMISETA the Head was away in Musoma from Friday the 16th June, 2000 to Tuesday 27th June.

We have one teacher who is on the National UMISETA committee. This guy has just gone off for a meeting in Mwanza. He might spend as long as a month on school sports competitions a year organising district, regional, zonal, and national competitions, and could get as much as 900,000 shillings a year in per diems. Also as he is preparing children for competition the Ministry provides him with free accommodation near to the children. He also eats with them and gets free food. I also go to these meetings but don’t get free accommodation (F/N 26/2/2000).

¹⁵⁰ See the section on “Social Capital” in Chapter 1.

¹⁵¹ We have already seen earlier in the chapter how Morogoro Secondary school’s teachers had twisted the original meaning of Education for Self-reliance so that they could justify getting the students to do menial jobs in the staffroom.

¹⁵² See my discussion of the “Musoma Resolution” in Chapter 2.

¹⁵³ We have already seen in the previous chapter how some prospective TTU candidates in the 2000 elections seemed to be more motivated by allowances than by holding an office in the Union.

Political Performance and the Education System

A grave criticism of the 1995 general election had been the *Chama Cha Mapinduzi's* (CCM), misuse of the “machinery of the state” for electioneering purposes (Eastern and Southern Africa Universities Research Programme (ESAURP), 1996: 18) and it was clear in 2000 that the offence was being repeated through CCM’s involvement in educational events. As one teacher said, “You know the government is more interested in keeping hold of power than rectifying this behaviour” (F/N, 8/7/2000). As confirmation of Morogoro’s status as an “workshop centre” the town was to host the 2000 national primary school sports competition organised by *Umoja wa Michezo na Taaluma wa Shule za Msingi Tanzania* (UMITASHUMTA) (The Tanzania Primary School Sports and Academic Association).¹⁵⁴

With the decision to move to multi-party democracy made in the early 1990s, CCM set up in August, 1992 its own cultural troupe “Tanzania One Theatre” (TOT) (Askew, 2002: 246). Originally sponsored by the Chinese government to the tune of 20 million shillings (approximately £20,000) TOT has become one of the most popular bands in the country (ibid, 250). Its director is an army officer, Captain John Komba, and it shadows the president on his engagements around the country in a large truck painted in the green of CCM. The truck doubles up as a stage, and on it performers play a mixture of *taarab* (Swahili poetry set to verse) *kwaya* (choir) and *dansi* (urban dance hall) music. TOT is very popular in Tanzania and its music is a useful medium through which CCM can broadcast propaganda to its *wananchi* (citizens).

As TOT’s presence at the UMITASHUMTA games would almost guarantee a crowd, the primary schools sport’s week was turned into an electioneering opportunity, and President Mkapa officially opened the games on Tuesday the 27th June, 2000. The following abridged field note describes the opening day.

¹⁵⁴ On Monday 19 June, he had been in Musoma opening the Secondary School equivalent *Umoja wa Michezo wa Shule za Sekondari Tanzania* (UMISETA).

The usually half-empty restaurants around the stadium were full and thousands of children and teachers in tracksuits milled around outside. Just to the right of where Mkapa would give his speech, I passed a huge green lorry next to a smaller mini-bus with Tanzania One Theatre (TOT) emblazoned on the side. Two flags flew in front of the visitors' box - the National flag and the CCM flag, and it soon became clear that all the REOs and DEOs in the country were present in Morogoro. Huge 30,000 shilling per diems for over 120 people. Does a school sports day warrant such a turn out? Is it all a reward for the Party faithful? A chance to be seen near to the president? TOT certainly knew how to put on a show and while the band played, girls dressed in pseudo-African attire danced suggestively on the field. In front, directing operations was a huge man in a red tracksuit, who I wrongly assumed was involved in UMITASHUMTA but was in fact Captain Komba, the Party's warm up man. He led the crowd through praise songs in Swahili. As we sang and waved our hands from the left to right the REOs and DEOs (who had now changed into maroon¹⁵⁵ safari suits) drifted into the stadium in large numbers. Eventually the President arrived and his police escort swirled around the track. The escort included a group of CCM flag bearing *pikipiki* (moped) riders, and a touch of farce was added to the proceedings as one of them fell off his bike...After finishing his speech, Mkapa was treated to another praise song by a jiving choir of educational officers, and I can now see that the REOs and DEOs are very much 'Party' animals (F/N 27/6/2000).

As we can see from the above account, the games depict a very different kind of performance to that adopted by TTU to press for their rights at their meetings with government officials.¹⁵⁶ The contrast between TTU's use of Swahili poetry set to music as an act of protest and the educational officers' praise song is striking, and suggests that the real meaning of the performance was the latter's need to reconfirm their affiliation to the ruling party. Moreover, the games offered CCM a political opportunity to reward key figures within the education establishment for their loyalty by distributing patronage through allowances, and thus ensuring the educational officers' cooperation during the forthcoming elections.

¹⁵⁵ Nobody could explain to me why they had chosen the colour maroon. However, it certainly helped them stick out from the rest of the crowd.

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter 4 for a full account of TTU's meetings at Morogoro town, Kilombero, and Arusha.

Administrative procedures and legislative or institutional rules are only one channel among many which the public authorities use to manage the country's affairs. Personal relations and personal networks, whether of an economic, political, religious or regional nature, frequently offer far more effective instruments of public management (Hibou, 1999).

Before making my concluding remarks on the meaning of schooling at Morogoro Secondary I would like first to see if any insights into the relationship between teachers' pay and performance can be gained from a brief review of two of the town's private secondary schools.

Private Schools

As the Regional Education Officer says it is, "very difficult to talk about private schools in general as there are big differences between them" (MS, Morogoro Regional Education Officer, F/N 4/1/2000). Though, a ceiling of 180,000 shillings a year for school fees had been set in 1999 not all private schools charged the same amount of money and schools exhibited differing degrees of success at collecting school fees. In the same way the MOEC had also limited the amount of money that private schools request from parents in contributions to 25,000 shillings (Mary Mushi, The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Culture, F/N 2/6/2000). Though the REO had advised all private schools to develop other sources of income so as to reduce their dependency on school fees, this had proved to be "very difficult and in some schools not practical"¹⁵⁷ and as a result school fees made up the majority of teachers' pay in the region's private schools (ibid).

Tuition is one side effect of the non-payment of fees, and thus seems to be less of a feature in high fee paying 'good quality' schools than in schools that charge lower fees. Perhaps this is because parents who pay high fees feel that they can demand higher levels

¹⁵⁷ We have already seen how Morogoro Secondary School struggled to run self-reliant activities in an urban setting.

of classroom performance from the school concerned. However, it is more likely that teachers in 'good private schools' are better paid and higher motivated. The Tanzania *Daily Mail* of the 11 November 1999 ran a front-page article entitled "*Private schools not for charity*" in which one Dar es Salaam head teacher gives the following explanation of what happens when parents of children in private schools fail to pay their school fees. "Managements (sic) of private schools have to pay salaries to teachers and meet all the costs of running the institutions from the fees charged on students...If we don't pay the salaries the performance of both the teachers and the students will drop."

Kingurunyembe Secondary

Kingurunyembe Secondary is owned by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Morogoro, and was founded in 1974 to help educate the children of poor rural catholic families (MM, The Headmaster of Kingurunyembe Secondary School, F/N 17/11/1999). Despite this provenance 212 of the school's 949 students in 1999 were Muslim (Christian Social Services Commission (Education Department), 1999) and the school charged 100,000 shillings in school fees for forms 1-4 and 120,000 shillings for forms 5 and 6. Collection of school fees was a particular problem and though the school usually withheld students' certificates until they paid their fees, this sanction was little good when it came to those children who failed their examinations (MM, The Headmaster of Kingurunyembe Secondary School, F/N 17/11/1999). This resulted in year-on-year budget shortfalls of approximately 5 million shillings in 1997, 9,800,000 shillings in 1998; and 6 million shillings in 1999 (ibid).

The Church does not help with teachers' salaries and therefore this shortfall in the collection of school fees puts extreme pressure upon the teaching establishment. Though teachers are supposed to be paid on the 25th the month, they were not paid in November 1999 (ibid). MM also explained that though teachers were paid salaries equivalent to the Tanzania Government Teachers Pay Scale there were some months when they only received a reduced salary. For example in April 1999 all of Kigurnyembe's teachers

were paid a flat rate of 20,000 shillings regardless of their qualifications or professional experience. However, when school fees were paid at the beginning of the academic year in January or at the start of the second term in July, it was possible to pay off some of the schools' arrears, and in July 1999, school was able to pay-out 4.9 million shillings in back pay.

This situation begs the question: why teach at Kingurunyembe Secondary? The answer to this question has two parts. Firstly, it may be difficult for some of the school's teachers to find employment elsewhere. This may be because they either lack the necessary qualifications to be employed as a government teacher, or that they have already been expelled from the Teachers' Service Commission. "We know the secrets of private teachers!" (Morogoro District Teachers' Service Commission Secretary, F/N 23/11/2000). The second answer is that there are ample opportunities within the school to take extra tuition classes. MM freely admits that his teachers have little choice but to teach tuition ("Make tuition or die!") and he allows them to use the school buildings for their extra classes (F/N 17/11/1999). Teachers are allowed to use the school's classrooms to teach tuition from 3pm to 6pm every weekday, and though the school accrues a loss from the use of chalk and electricity, if the school were to forbid it then the teachers would simply leave (ibid).

He also rather helpfully identified three further negative features of tuition. One, teachers sometimes as a means of attracting students to their tuition classes will show children the form 1 and 3 forthcoming internal examinations. He told me that in 1997 he was forced to dismiss a teacher because of this behaviour. Two, it is impossible to supervise tuition as it takes place after school hours. "You have no idea whether teachers are just babbling like monkeys." Three, "sometimes students say that they are going to extra-tuition and receive money for that purpose from their parents "However they do not go!"

Kigurunyembe's teachers can also top-up their salaries by teaching in the holidays for the Ex-Fraters' Association (EFA). EFA is an organisation set up in 1996 to help people who had completed their initial philosophy and theology seminary training but decided not to go on to take their final vows. It aims to help them to go for further study, and provides a short three-month pre-secondary school course to help primary school leavers bridge the gap between learning through the Medium of Swahili and then turning to English. During the 1999 Christmas holidays, it had seventy students and employed six teachers (only two of the teachers were ex-Fraters) and pays them Sh 2,000 an hour.

Forest Hill Secondary

Unlike Kigurunyembe, Forest Hill Secondary is an impressive school with double story classrooms. The grounds are exceptionally well kept and the male students of Asian, African and Arab origin are extremely smart. A guard sits at the gated entrance taking the names of visitors, and the school covers a large expanse of land surrounded by a large wall that was built in 1992-1993 to discourage truancy (ZC, The Academic Master Forest Hill Secondary, F/N 7/3/2000). At the back of the school, the wall is made of grey, uninspiring breeze block but on the main Forest Hill road evidence of the commercial side of private schooling can be seen as the wall is adorned with advertising for Abood's soap and buses. Many students come from Morogoro town, while others stay five minutes away the Farmer Green Hostel. The school has a good reputation in the surrounding community and has the motto "Excellence."

When I arrived a corporal punishment session was taking place. Near to the staffroom a group of students were kneeling on the grassy area that sits between the two rows of classrooms. In front of them was the Headmaster who was giving them a stern admonishing in English "Why can you not do this? Are you not Forest Hill students? Shame on you!" After a few minutes, the beating began as a teacher walked along the two rows of students giving each student a total of three whacks on the buttocks. The Head did not show any signs of embarrassment at this as he was following the MOEC guidelines to the letter. The boys were beaten by a clearly

designated teacher in the presence of the head and the strokes were administered to the buttocks (F/N, 6/3/2000).¹⁵⁸

Most teachers' contracts at the school run for two years, but new teachers are usually employed on a probationary basis for one year. Despite the short-term nature of the contracts and the fact that teachers do not receive a pension, the Head seems to have little trouble attracting teachers to his school. "I have never advertised a post at this school as I receive hundreds of application letters a year. If a post comes up I merely call somebody for interview" (F/N 7/3/2000). This is because the school offers a very attractive financial package to its teachers.

According to the Academic Master the salary (which can either come in the form of cash or cheque) is paid promptly on the same date every month, and there are no teachers at the school receiving less than a 100,000 shillings a month (F/N 7/3/2000). Moreover, many will "get much more than this" and will also benefit from a housing allowance of 12.5 % of their gross salary (ibid). The school also has ten staff family houses which cost 5,000 shillings a month in rent, and can be comfortably paid for out of a teacher's housing allowance. Built between 1989 and 1990 the houses are far more modern than those at Morogoro Secondary and have electricity and running water. Perhaps, the most attractive perk is that teachers are paid a gratuity of 15% of their total gross salary at the end of their contract. This can be quite a substantial amount of money in Tanzania, and is with the gratuity given to government teachers on retirement may be enough to start up a *mradi* (project) or begin building a retirement home. "Because of the value of our currency it is better to get your money immediately before it loses value. I can say that

¹⁵⁸ During a meeting of the leaders of Morogoro Education on the 2nd June 2000 Mary Mushi, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Culture, reminded her audience of the then current regulations on corporal punishment. She explained that only a soft stick should be used for corporal punishment and that it was not to be administered in the classroom. Corporal punishment could only be carried out by the headteacher or by a teacher designated to act on his/her behalf. The Permanent Secretary went on to say, that only a female teacher could cane female students, and that no student should receive more than six strokes. In addition it was also important to date and record of the names of the students punished, their offences; and the severity of their punishments in a separate book (F/N 2/6/2000).

many of our teachers like the gratuity and it is one of the reasons for them coming here” (ZC, *ibid*).

Concluding Remarks

This chapter’s discussion on the provision of secondary education in Morogoro town has shown the negative impact that teachers’ involvement in additional money making activities and their pursuit of allowances can have on students’ learning. It has also argued that the school is no longer just a seat of learning but a place of private business, and that there is a need to protect the school from outside environmental factors by placing a symbolic boundary between it and broader society. The real meaning of the school has somehow got drowned in a sea of teacher absenteeism and student truancy, and the school has become, in the case of Morogoro Secondary, little more than a “camp” that offers mutual-support to a community of teachers.

The chapter also reveals that “formal education” and “schooling” are two separate entities in Tanzania, and that the ubiquitous practice of extra-tuition has diminished the importance of the role of the school in a child’s education. As a result of tuition, there are now not just great differences in the kind of education children receive in different schools, but inequalities between the quality that different students within the same school receive. Those children whose parents can afford tuition will be taught the syllabus whether in school or not, while those children who can not afford tuition may be forced to obtain help by alternative means. This puts female students at risk, and also puts a question mark against the idea that the provision of free primary schooling will reduce social inequality. Surely there is a need to remedy the current situation in school before embarking upon rapid expansion?

The major reason for the sad state of schooling is that teachers are not paid enough, and in the final chapter, I will discuss this issue of teachers’ remuneration in more detail. It is

Chapter Six

Conclusion

In this the final chapter of the thesis, I would like draw out from the discussion of Tanzanian teachers' pay, performance and politics some of the most significant findings of the research. I will view the Tanzania Teachers Union as having a pivotal role to play in the future development of Tanzanian education, and I will suggest ways by which it can improve the service that it provides to its membership and honour its pledge to "promote and protect the dignity and status of the teaching profession including the observation of the highest form of morality" (Tanzania Teachers Union, 1997: i). The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I will reflect upon my research methodology, and in the second section I will discuss my major research findings on teachers' pay and performance. In the third section, I will provide an evaluation of changes that have occurred in Tanzanian education since my departure in 2000, and make a number of suggestions for further research.

Research Methodology Revisited

Reflecting on my research methodology, I am now struck by its multi-disciplinary nature and the central role that history plays in my analysis. Though scholars have emphasised the need to view African societies within their historical contexts (Mamdani, 1996: 13; Chabal & Daloz, 1999: xviii; Mbembe, 2001: 7-9), I had no idea while preparing to leave Edinburgh in 1999 that my fieldwork would take me on a *safari* (journey) back to pre-colonial Tanzania, or that it would involve an exploration of the Braudelian *longue duree*¹⁵⁹ (Bayart, 1993: ix).

¹⁵⁹

See section entitled "History and *la longue duree*" in Chapter 1.

I am a little wiser now, and realise that ethnographic fieldwork is as much about asking questions about the past as it is about observing and participating in things going on in the present. Indeed, much of my time was spent “determining the genesis of practices and their interconnections” (Mbembe, 2001: 7-9) and trying to ascertain when the core themes of my thesis; low salaries and perennial hardships, the pursuit of allowances, involvement in the informal economy, subaltern sentiment, and a *laissez faire* style of management first became features of Tanzanian teachers’ lives.

By a process of professional socialisation, formal instruction¹⁶⁰ and institutionalisation, teachers were able to refer to the same historical antecedents and policy documents when trying to explain their position. Informal chats in the school canteen or *kijuwani* (jobless corner)¹⁶¹ reinforced this experience as the same stories of their professional decline were swapped and shared and then commonly owned, and though their terms of conditions of service said one thing, experience quickly told them something else. Initiation into the mysteries of the modalities of their payment was very quick and was completed with the absence of the first pay check¹⁶² and from that date the character of teachers’ relationship with their employers is set. On reflection, I now accept that the shared version of the profession’s past that I acquired is really an “oral tradition” (Vansina, 1965 & 1985) rather than an account of what actually happened.¹⁶³ If I had taken more individual

¹⁶⁰ See my discussion of the Swedish funded Tanzania Teachers Union’s “study circle” programme in Chapter 3. The “study circle” programme is also mentioned in Chapter 5 under the sub-heading, “The Tanzania Teachers Union”.

¹⁶¹ See my discussion of Morogoro teachers’ performance in the school canteen in Chapter 5.

¹⁶² See Msulwa’s petition to President Mkapa at the Tanzania Teacher Union’s national elections in Chapter 4.

¹⁶³ Seen through the longer lens, it was not workers’ sudden involvement in the informal economy during the 1980’s which provided a new and additional source of income, but Tanzanians’ ability to increase their portfolio of economic activities by engaging in paid employment with the advent of capitalism in the 19th Century. It is now well accepted that the “informal economy” was not born when Keith Hart first coined the term in Ghana in 1971 to describe the income generating activities of unskilled and illiterate Frafra migrants in the capital Accra (King, 1996). Rather it is, “The latest manifestation of the older economic dichotomies” (Maliyamkono & Bagachwa, 1990: 33), as many of the kinds of economic activity that people engaged in before the arrival of capitalism would fall under Hart’s definition of the

teachers life histories then I would have been able to enrich the story-line by placing teachers' private experiences within the context of the grand narrative of the profession's biography.¹⁶⁴

I am also surprised by how political the research became and put this down to my serendipitous discovery of the Morogoro regional TTU offices on the 26th October, 1999.¹⁶⁵ I feel that my attempt to unite contemporary educational research with current insights from political science is a particular strength of this thesis. I also feel that Chabal and Daloz's 1999 "informalisation of the state" thesis has proved to be a helpful interpretative tool to use to explain how both government teachers, and the Tanzanian government school, have failed to be "emancipated from society". Mamdani (1996) has suggested that scholars fall into one of either two camps when studying the African state.

For the state-centralists, the state has failed to penetrate society sufficiently and is therefore hostage to it; for the society-centrists, society has failed to hold the state accountable, and is therefore prey to it. I will argue that the former fail to see the form of power, of how the state does penetrate society, and the latter the form of revolt, of how society does hold the state accountable, because both work through analogies and are unable to come to grips with a historically specific reality (Mamdani, 1996: 11).

In this thesis I have shown both sides of the coin, and I have provided in their different historical contexts examples of both teachers' resistance to their superiors (strikes, poems, ironic drama and anti-establishment discourse), and government attempts to

informal economy (Hart, 1973: 68). For a more detailed description of the pre-colonial "informal economy" see Kjekshus, H. (1996) *Ecology control and economic development in East African History: the case of Tanganyika 1850-1950*, James Currey: London, pp111-125.

¹⁶⁴ For a general introduction into biographical method see, Stephens, D. (2004) "Culture in educational research in Africa: from the methodological to the practical", paper presented at Edinburgh University workshop, "The methodological challenges of researching education and skills development in Africa, May 21 and 22, 2004.

¹⁶⁵ See my discussion of fieldwork in Chapter 1.

ensure the loyalty of key figures within the educational establishment¹⁶⁶ and control the labour movement.¹⁶⁷ I also find it strange that there are not more educational researchers in Africa discussing teachers' political resistance to the state. Perhaps this is because "the 'real' business of politics is taking place where analysts are often not looking" (Chabal & Daloz, 1999: 1) and I think it would be true to say that much more research needs to be conducted into African teachers' unionism in general.¹⁶⁸

My methodological *modus operandi* of trying to compare the official "public transcript" with the "hidden transcript" (Scott, 1990: 4-5)¹⁶⁹ meant that I came across a large amount of hidden political data during my research. With the benefit of hindsight, I would say now that I was attracted to controversial, hidden data like the ancient highwaymen were drawn to "Will-o-the-wisp". The analogy is good one as encounters with hidden documents - or data that some people would rather have concealed - often high jacked my research agenda, and took me off in unexpected directions. Trying to interpret "hidden" data was, for a number of reasons, a very stressful and time-consuming activity. Firstly, hidden transcripts seldom interpreted themselves and I was, at times, compelled to embark on further excursions into the hidden to properly understand the forces at play. The benefits to be accrued from placing myself in positions where I could access the "hidden transcript" had to be off-set by the potential

¹⁶⁶ See the section entitled "Political Performance and the Education System" in Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁷ Hibou (1999) uses the term "Rhizome state" to describe the often covert "ruses" (p.89) that African governments' adopt to control their citizens, and argues that the contemporary state in Africa can only be understood by placing it within the context of its deeper history. "The origins of the rhizome state - so called because of its complicated root structure - lie in its colonial predecessor" (p.88).

¹⁶⁸ Though researchers are looking at issues that are influencing African classroom teachers' lives they are not studying teachers' unions. Angeline Barret has recently conducted as part of her Bristol University Ph.D thesis a study of Tanzanian teachers' identity and perceptions of their work (Barrett, 2005). Marianne Tudor-Craig "was committed to listening to teachers' point of view" when she carried out research on behalf of Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) into the issue of teacher morale and motivation in Malawi (Voluntary Services Overseas, 2002: 8). It is worth noting that though Tudor-Craig's work in particular shares a great deal of common ground with my own - sections are included on the basic salary (p. 12) and allowances (p.13) - neither study deals in great detail with teacher unionism.

¹⁶⁹ See the section on "Fieldwork" in Chapter 1.

damage knowledge of the hidden could cause to my relationships with my informants. As a general rule, my *modus operandi* was particularly useful at the start, when I was perceived to know little, and more difficult to carry off when it became too clear to everyone that I was coming across things that they would rather have remained hidden.

Secondly, I found that one encounter with hidden data was a transition point in the research process, as my attempts to research the 1993 Teachers strike effectively ended my honeymoon with TTU. Though I was never able to formally interview the leader of the strike, Peter Mashanga, my fleeting meetings with him were sufficient enough to reveal tensions between himself and TTU's current leadership, and have made a powerful interpretative contribution to my understanding of the Union. In turn, this forced me to look more critically at the Union's relationship with the ruling party. As a result of not meeting with Mashanga, I subsequently interviewed a number of the leaders of the strike in Dar es Salaam, Moshi, Morogoro and Mara Regions.¹⁷⁰ Through these interviews, press cuttings from the Tanzanian newspaper the *Daily News*, TTU documents, and interviews with union officials I have produced a satisfactorily balanced (though no doubt incomplete) account of events.

Thirdly, I was faced with the problem of making a judgement as to whether or not I could use the hidden transcript. This was a particular problem with sensitive data that either put at risk my informants or the other people referred to negatively in the transcript. I answered this question by basing my decision upon the degree of interpretative power that a particular piece of hidden data gave to my understanding of a phenomenon or issue.

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See my account of the 1993/4 "Teachers' Strike" in Chapter 3.

Research Findings

Teachers' Pay

The research's most obvious findings relate to teachers' pay. Firstly, despite the significant increases in the purchasing power of Tanzania government workers' monthly wages experienced in the first five years of President Mkapa's time in office (Mkapa, 2000: 41) Tanzanian government workers' salaries remain too low for their needs. The situation is set to continue for the short term future, at least, as the Tanzanian economy is not strong enough to sustain large salary increases across the board. Since 1997, Tanzanian government teachers have had their own pay-scale and are paid slightly more than other public sector workers. However, their salaries are also insufficient and unlikely to rise enough to meet teachers' monthly needs. Though the Tanzania Teachers Union is the strongest professional lobby in the country, it has not been able to bring about acceptable solutions for many of the long-standing problems surrounding the payment of the monthly salary, which is paid late, or in the case of newly qualified teachers not paid at all.

The second finding is that although salaries are low the amount of pay that a teacher can receive from his/her formal sector job can be much higher if s/he is able to obtain one or more of the large number of Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) allowances or government per diems. The research found that TSC allowances are often paid late and that TTU spent a great deal of the late 1990s fighting for the payment of teachers' allowance arrears and trying to convince the government to repeal its decision to cancel the "Teaching Allowance". The non-payment of allowances has introduced a political dimension to teachers' attitudes to their work. Writing to the editor of the Tanzanian Swahili daily *Majira* on Friday 5th November 1999 JK, a teacher from Iringa, concludes his letter regarding the non payment of TSC allowances thus: "*Sijui walimu tutakuwa na moyo gani tunapofanya kazi ya taifa kwa kinyongo*" ("I don't know what kind of motivation we teachers will have when we carry out the nation's work with bitterness"). This *kinyongo* (bitterness) that teachers' feel towards their work means that they are not

just suffering the malady of low morale, but are actively engaged in acts of resistance that cause them to habitually disregard Ministry of Education and Culture directives. As MB put it, we say “Yes, but mean a big no!” (AB, F/N 9/8/2000).

It is also evident from the research that allowances distort the real picture of teachers’ formal sector income and hide inequalities between those workers who receive allowances on a regular basis and those who do not. The vast majority of the profession in Tanzania are primary school teachers who seldom leave their work station on MOEC business, and are rarely invited to attend education workshops, seminars, study tours and conferences. Hence the poorest members of the profession, primary teachers, seldom receive a per diem. Those who do receive per diems tend to hold a title or high office and receive many per diems during the course of a year. It is an anomaly that government daily subsistence allowances are set at a rate close to the monthly national minimum wage as one government worker can earn more from two day’s government per diems than a primary school teacher’s monthly salary. Moreover, per diems are frequently used as a form of political patronage and they service the needs of the establishment. Allowances are woven into the fabric of Tanzanian society and the *posho* (allowance) has been used as a method of payment since porters took the first steps out of the traditional economy and into the capitalist world in the 19th Century. As President Mkapa discovered over the cancellation of “Teaching Allowance”, it is not easy to overturn over a hundred years of *allowance culture* by incorporating allowances into the salary.

Teachers’ Performance

The most important finding of the research is that there are many links between teachers’ pay and their professional performance. As a result of their poor pay teachers have little choice but to either acquire an alternative source of income outside of the profession to survive, and/or opportunistically pursue allowances embedded within the educational system. Moreover, our discussion on the “school environment” has revealed that some teachers absent themselves from school when they *bangahiza* (search for enough money

to solve an immediate problem) or when running their various *biashara* (businesses) or *miradi* (projects).

The second finding that I would like to draw out from the thesis's study on the relationship between pay and performance is that the real problem is not that teachers have external income generating projects but how they choose to run their income generating projects. If it were the case that teachers were teaching their classes diligently, and devoting enough time on an evening to marking and lesson preparation, then the additional business would only have a minimal negative affect on the school. However, if the teacher begins to spend more time on the income generating activity than on teaching the negative impact upon the school will be consequentially greater.

In 1999/2000 teachers' sense of injustice over the removal of "Teaching Allowance", and their general antipathy towards TSC, meant that they were not trying to run their *miradi* around the timetable but were engaging in additional money making enterprises during school hours. Like allowances this general laxity and poor attention to professional duties have long historical roots, and are very much a part of post *Rhuksa* Tanzania. Teachers' attitude to their work will not change over night! However, a small improvement could be made by strengthening in-school supervision and tightening up the *laissez faire* style of management. For instance, Morogoro Secondary teachers knew that the headteacher was frequently away from school on professional duties (and of course collecting an allowance) and that there was often nobody of a senior rank left to monitor their attendance. As there was little threat of punishment many of them would simply not turn up to class.

A final finding of the research was that out of all teachers' myriad additional money making enterprises the practice of tuition was the one that had the largest negative influence upon students' schooling. The research found that the leaking of the examination papers through teachers' private tuition classes caused the cancellation of the 1998 "O" level examination (SM, F/N 4/1/2000). Moreover, going to a tuition class

seemed to be the only way that children could have work marked and set on a regular basis, as teachers were too busy after school to give written homework to the normal class. Tuition also caused difficulties in the classroom when teachers were faced with the problem of how to teach a class that included students who had already covered the topic in private classes (M/S, F/N 7/8/2000). Furthermore, teachers who did not offer tuition were sometimes viewed by their students as being bad teachers who did not care about their learning (J/N, F/N 25/7/2000). By 1999/2000, tuition was so widespread in Tanzania that it was creating inequalities within individual schools between those students whose parents could pay for tuition and those students whose parents could not. More worrying still was the link between male teachers' tuition classes and the sexual harassment of female students. "In addition, some male teachers have been reported to misuse their position of authority to attempt or threaten school children into sexual relationships. The types of harassment faced by girls include touching private parts and breasts, attempts at seduction, and actual rape" (Kuleana, 1999: 56). The case of BB's death from HIV/AIDS, and the suspicion that he was sleeping with children, casts a very dark shadow over tuition.

Tanzania Revisited

I would like to argue that there is a need to re-interpret the findings of this study in the light of changes that have occurred in the Tanzanian Education system since the end of my fieldwork in October 2000. After the Dakar World Education Forum in April 2000, the United Nations Millennium Summit of September 2000 unanimously announced the Millennium Declaration which included the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Two of these goals related directly to education.

- **Achieve Universal primary education (UPE):** Ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

- **Promote gender equality and empower women:** Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and at all levels of education no later than 2015. (World Education Forum, 2000).

As a means of meeting these goals Tanzania has embarked upon a rapid expansion of the primary education sector. In 2001 Tanzania introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) (Evans & Ngalewa, 2003), and in July 2002 began the five-year Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) which aimed to achieve Universal Primary Education by 2005 (Wedgwood, 2005). This caused a significant rise in the number of children in primary school with the Net Enrolment Ratio increasing from just 47% in 2002 (UNESCO, 2002) to 88.5 % in 2003. Early research from the field seems to suggest that this rapid expansion has come at the expense of quality as the average national pupil/teacher ratio stood at 57:1 in 2003 (Sumra, 2003). Given that it was Dar es Salaam's large primary school class sizes that led to an exponential growth in tuition in 1990 (MS, F/N 4/1/2000) it would seem reasonable to suggest that the movement to FPE may have amplified some of the problems discussed in the previous chapters. If the hypothesis is correct then FPE may have paradoxically entrenched economic inequalities within schooling between those students who go to tuition and those who do not. Indeed, Mbelle and Katabaro (2003) have already found that students who go on to obtain a place in a government secondary school are also receiving extra help through tuition classes. Wedgwood makes the following claim "If curriculum delivery becomes shifted to private sector tuition due to poor delivery in schools, the poor become excluded from much of the curriculum and their access to higher levels of education is restricted" (Wedgwood, 2005: 240).

I think that Wedgwood is probably correct in her hypothesis, but there is a need for more focussed research which seeks to answer three questions, (a) Has the introduction of FPE in Tanzania increased the amount of time primary school teachers spend taking extra-tuition classes? (b) Has the introduction of FPE increased primary school teacher

absenteeism? (c) Has the introduction of FPE increased the inequalities between those children who go to extra tuition classes and those who do not?

It is my hunch that given the standard of teachers' professional conduct, the problems embedded within the education system, and the culture of the school in 2000, the answer to all of these questions would be yes. Firstly, I would expect that wealthier parents will respond to the increase in primary school class size by ensuring that their children go to tuition. Secondly, as a result of this projected rise in demand teachers will have more tuition classes to teach outside school and will thus inevitably, devote less time to their school duties. Thirdly, more secondary school teachers will be drawn into the practice of primary school tuition as parents will seek out the best teachers, regardless of level, to teach their children. Fourthly, it is likely that many teachers will respond to the pressure of having larger classes with a "shrug of the shoulders" and will set even less work than they did before. Finally, this will mean that the large number of children from poorer economic backgrounds who have just enrolled under UPE will be less likely to do well at school than children from wealthier backgrounds because they will not be able to pay for extra teaching. Indeed, it is more than possible that in a few years time we will begin to see the first "Free Primary School Drop-outs".

Thankfully, Tanzania' Ministry of Education and Culture appears to have learnt at least one lesson from the 1974 UPE programme and has not introduced crash pre-service education programmes so that form four leavers with poor "O" level grades can be accelerated into the workforce (Mushi, Penny et al. 2003). However, it remains unclear as to whether the government is still serious about its threat to terminate the contracts of those Grade C teachers who fail to upgrade. Moreover, it is unclear as to whether these old UPE teachers are still enrolled on upgrading programmes with the Primary Education Network and the Institute of Adult Education.

Secondary education has also been expanded so as to improve access and equity, and the number of government secondary schools has been increased from 450 in 1999 to 828 in

2004 (Wedgwood, 2005: 28). In 2004 the MOEC launched the Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) which amongst other things aimed to build new schools and classrooms, reduce school fees from 40,000 shillings to 20,000 shillings a year and increase the number of scholarships for poor students (Mungai, 2004). The SEDP has been sponsored by the World Bank and has had to increase the output of qualified secondary school teachers by reducing the length of the University of Dar es Salaam's BEd course from four to three years. The Diploma course offered at the colleges of education has also been restructured so that it now takes only one year's post form six secondary school education to qualify as a secondary school teacher (Wedgwood, 2005: 34). These changes suggest that the Government is already sowing the seeds for a further fall in the quality of the provision of secondary school education. Even more worrying is the introduction of a scheme that sends form six students out into secondary schools after only ten days intensive training (Osaki, 2004; cited in Wedgwood, 2005).

Clearly, there is need to return to Tanzania to find out whether teachers' pay has kept step with the increased workload that the expansion of the primary and secondary sectors no doubt entails. Moreover, it would be interesting to find out TTU's stance towards the changes brought about by SEDP and PEDP, and to discover to what extent the Union has been consulted on the implementation of the programmes. My hypothesis would be that teachers would have been adversely affected by these changes, and that the introduction of SEDP would have done little to improve teachers' professional conduct. It is most probable that the expansion in enrolment would have increased teachers' involvement in tuition and their antipathy towards the Tanzanian State - "Many teachers have shown a somewhat cynical reaction to the news of SEDP, commenting that 2005 is an election year" (Wedgwood, 2005: 35).

Unfortunately, this study of the dynamic between pay and performance in Tanzania does not paint the most flattering portrait of her education system and will please neither the Government of Tanzania nor the country's teaching profession. It is a sad fact that Tanzania teachers' poor pay goes hand-in-hand with their poor professional performance, and in 2000 I saw no guarantee that if teachers were to have been awarded better pay that they would have improved their attention to their daily professional duties. Conversely, it was also true that there was no guarantee that teachers would be awarded better pay if they did begin to improve their performance. For the situation to alter both contending parties (the teachers and the government) would have needed to take a "leap of faith" and begin to trust each other. "The government, teacher unions and other teachers representatives should create a progressive and practical "social contract" through which pay and conditions for teachers are increased in tandem with improved performance" (Kuleana, 1999: 38). It also seemed essential that the Tanzania Teachers Union, and individual teachers, took responsibility for their own actions because, as Mwalimu put it at the 1988 CHAKIWATA symposium, "The true guardians of the professional honour of Tanzanian teachers are our teachers themselves" (Nyerere, 1988: 9). If this is not to remain a hollow statement, TTU's leadership must be prepared to risk criticism from within its own ranks and use its voice to speak out on matters of professional concern.

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List of Formal Interviews

17/11/1999	A Retired Primary school headmaster.
19/11/1999	The National Co-ordinator of the Teachers Resource Centres, Zanzibar and Pemba.
9/11/1999	The Senior Tutor of the Institute of Adult Education, Morogoro Region.
10/11/1999	Morogoro Region's Tanzania Teachers Union Secretary.
13/11/1999	The Headmaster of Morogoro Secondary School.
15/11/1999	The Co-ordinator of Kikundi Teachers Resource Centre, Morogoro town.
17/11/1999	The Secretary of Morogoro Municipal District "Teachers Saving and Credit Society" (TESCOS).
17/11/1999	The Headmaster of Kigurnyembe Secondary School.
23/11/1999	(a) The Secretary of the Teachers' Service Commission, Morogoro Municipal District. (b) The Teachers' Service Commission Officer (Conduct, Discipline, and Appeals), Morogoro Municipal District. (c) The Teachers' Service Commission Officer (Employment, Promotions, and Pensions), Morogoro Municipal District.
24/11/1999	The Deputy Headteacher of Morogoro Secondary School.
24/11/1999	The Academic Mistress of Morogoro Secondary School.
25/11/1999	The Tanzania Teachers Union Secondary Schools Representative, Morogoro Region.
26/11/1999	(a) The Chairman of Morogoro Secondary school's branch of the Tanzania Teachers Union (b) The Secretary of Morogoro Secondary school's branch of the Tanzania Teachers Union (c) A member of Morogoro Secondary school's branch of the Tanzania Teachers Union

6/12/1999	A Morogoro municipal district school inspector.
6/12/1999	The Morogoro Municipal District Education Officer.
7/12/1999	The Morogoro Branch Manager of Pride Tanzania.
13/12/1999	The Morogoro Regional Education Officer.
13/12/1999	The Morogoro Regional Secretary of the Ex-Fraters Association.
4/1/2000	The Morogoro Regional Education Officer.
19/1/2000	The Head of Administration, Tanzania Teachers Union.
19/1/2000	Mrs. Margaret Sitta, President of the Tanzania Teachers Union.
3/2/2000	The Principal of Morogoro Teachers College.
18/2/2000	The (a) Acting Executive Officer, Boma Ward, Morogoro Municipal District, (b) Ward Education Officer, Boma Ward, Morogoro, and (c) Tanzania Teachers Union Women's Representative, Morogoro Municipal District.
26/2/2000	The Headmaster of Morogoro Secondary School.
28/2/2000	The Morogoro Regional Tanzania Teachers Union Secretary.
28/2/2000	The Teachers' Service Commission Officer (Employment, Promotions, and Pensions), Morogoro Municipal District.
28/2/2000	The Morogoro Municipal Treasurer.
1/3/2000	A retired teacher.
6/3/2000	The Co-ordinator of the Primary Education Network, Morogoro Municipal District.
7/3/2000	The Academic Master Forrest Hill Secondary school.
20/3/2000	The Tanzania Teachers Union Morogoro Rural District Secretary.
27/3/2000	The Morogoro Municipal District Education Officer.
28/3/2000	The Morogoro Municipal Tanzania Teachers Union Secretary.

3/4/2000	The Morogoro Region's Tanzania Teachers Union Secretary.
5/4/2000	Mr. Yahya Msulwa, General Secretary of the Tanzania Teachers Union.
7/4/2000	The General Secretary of the Tanzania Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union.
13/4/2000	The Managing Director of Tunakopesha Ltd. Tanzania.
20/5/2000	A Tanzania Teachers Union trustee
20/5/2000	A Tanzania Teachers Union Secretary.
20/5/2000	A Tanzania Teachers Union Secretary.
23/5/2000	The Principal of Marangu Teachers College
23/5/2000	The Marangu Teachers College Tanzania Teachers Union Branch Chairman.
31/5/2000	Ezekiah Oluche, Vice General Secretary of the Tanzania Teachers Union.
13/6/2000	Mr.A. Mrutu, Assistant Commissioner of Education.
13/6/2000	Mr. C. Kalugula, Director of Policy and Planning Ministry of Education and Culture.
13/6/2000	Mr. J. Mariki, Acting Director of Administration and Personnel Ministry of Education and Culture.
14/6/2000	Mrs. P. Olekambaine, Executive Secretary of the Teachers Service Commission.
14/6/2000	An ex- teacher
15/6/2000	A Tanzania Teachers Union trustee.
14/7/2000	A leader of the 1993/4 National Teachers Strike in Morogoro.
16/10/2000	An ex-Universal Primary Education Teacher

21/10/2000	The Headmaster of Morogoro Secondary School.
27/10/2000	The Senior Tutor of the Institute of Adult Education, Morogoro Region.
07/11/2000	Morogoro region's children and youth's festival day.
09/11/2000	Meeting of Morogoro Region TTA representatives with the TTA President, M. S. M. M. and TTA's Group Secretary, Yohya Mubwa.
09/11/2000	Meeting of the Morogoro Municipal Teachers Union District Council.
27/11/2000	Morogoro Teachers College's District Teachers Union District Council.
11/12/2000	Morogoro Secondary School's Branch Teachers Teaching Union District Council.
13/12/2000	Morogoro Municipal District's Tanzania Teachers Union District Council.
19/12/2000	Meeting of Morogoro Region's Tanzania Teachers Union Regional Steering Committee.
26/12/2000	Morogoro Region's Tanzania Teachers Union election.
18/01/2001	The Tanzania Teachers College District Council.
20/01/2001	Meeting of the District of Morogoro's District Council with the Regional Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Culture, M. S. M. M.
17/02/2001	General meeting of the District of Morogoro's District Council (MTC) by President William Mubwa.
05/03/2001	Meeting of the Morogoro Municipal District Teachers Union District Council.
14/03/2001	Meeting of the District of Morogoro's District Council (MTC).
22/03/2001	Morogoro district's celebration of "World Teachers' Day".

Meetings and Elections

1/12/1999	Morogoro region's celebration of "World Teachers' Day."
9/11/1999	Meeting of Morogoro Region's TTU representatives with the TTU President, Margaret Sitta, and TTU's General Secretary, Yahya Msulwa.
14/1/2000	Meeting of the Morogoro Municipal Tanzania Teachers Union District Council
27/1/2000	Morogoro Teachers College's Branch Tanzania Teachers Union elections.
10/2/2000	Morogoro Secondary School's Branch Tanzania Teachers Union elections.
23/2/2000	Morogoro Municipal District's Tanzania Teachers Union elections.
28/3/2000	Meeting of Morogoro Region's Tanzania Teachers Union Regional Steering Committee.
29/3/2000	Morogoro Region's Tanzania Teachers Union elections.
18 –20/5/2000	The Tanzania Teachers Union National elections.
2/6/2000	Meeting of the Leaders of Morogoro's Education with the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Mary Mushi.
27/6/2000	Official opening of the <i>Umoja wa Michezo na Taaluma wa Shule za Msingi</i> (UMITASHUMTA) by President William Mkapa.
5/8/2000	Meeting of the Morogoro Municipal Tanzania Teachers Union District Council.
14/9/2000	Meeting of <i>Umoja Kusaidiana Morogoro Sekondari</i> (UMOSE).
22/9/2000	Morogoro district's celebration of "World Teachers' Day."

Appendix A

Ni ukweli usioepukika kwamba mwalimu ni nguzo ya maendeleo ya aina zote katika jamii. Zaidi ya asilimia 80 ya Watanzania wanapitia mikononi mwa mwalimu kabla hawajaingia katika nyanja mbali mbali za maisha. Je, unafikiri nini kitatokea katika taifa hili ikiwa walimu hawa hawatapata haki zao kwa wakati unaotakiwa na hawatakuwa na chombo au taaluma/mwanga wa kudai haki zao? Hali halisi ya uhai na maendeleo ya Watanzania sasa na baadaye itategemea jinsi tunavyoweza kujibu hoja hii muhimu ihusuyo mwalimu na haki zake. Tukizembea kutoa ufumbuzi mapema, elimu itazorota na itaendelea kuzorota na hatimaye kudidimia kabisa. Na huo ndio utakuwa mwisho wa taifa la Tanzania. Serikali imefanya nini kwa walimu juu ya matatizo yao kitaaluma, kikazi na kimaslahi? Jumuiya imefanya nini kumpatia mwalimu mazingira mazuri ya kazi? Walimu tumefanya nini kuondokana na kero mbali mbali zinazoua haki na hadhi yetu; Mashirika ya dini na watu binafsi wamefanya nini kuhusu kero mbali mbali zinazopandikizwa kwa walimu na waajiri? Wanafunzi na wazazi wamefanya nini na wamechukua hatua gani kukomesha kero hizi kwa walimu (CWT, 1997:xii)

Appendix B

TTU Poems

(a) Extract of the Poem presented at Morogoro Region's celebrations of "World Teacher's Day", 1st December, 1999

Uhamisho tukipata, si walimu maskini
Hakuna tuanachopata, si fedha-si safari
Kauli utayopata, kuripoti kituoni
Sisi walimu ni nguvu yakubadili jamii!

Ugonjwa ukipata, hapo utie saine -saine
Ukauze wako bata, uende hospitalini
Usijie kupanda tatu, katumbukie boman
Sisi walimu ni nguvu akubadili jamii!

If we get a transfer, we the poor teachers
There is nothing we get, no money - no safari
Statement that you get, to report at your new station
We teachers are strong enough to change society!

If you get sick, then you have to sign -sign
You have to go and sell your duck, to go to hospital.
If you don't overcome your problems, then you will
fall into a hole
We teachers are strong enough to change society!

(b) Poem presented by teachers from Meru Primary School at the TTU National elections, 19th May, 2000

Kwa jina la mungu wetu, shairi tunalianza
Ugeni kufika kwetu, uwezo wake muweza
Binadamu sio kitu, hilo tumeshajifunza
Karibu wageni wetu, Jisikieni nyumbani.

Solidarity twasema, hiyo ni yetu salamu
Imetuunga na chama, ni chama chao walimu
Ni ya Tanzania nzima, pokeni hiyo salamu
Karibu wageni wetu, jisikieni nyumbani.

Kutembelea Arusha, mmefanya jambo jema
Arusha yafurahisha, kuna mbuga za wanyama
Watalii wafungasha, katika dunia nzima
Mji wa kimataifa, ni Arusha karibuni.

Tulikuwa nayo hamu, ya kukuona Sumaye
Tuongee kwa nidhamu, yahasuyo masilahi
Utuone wa muhimu, yusikize twakusihi
Karibu mjini Arusha, uongee na walimu.

Una wajibu mkubwa, pole ya kaziyo ngumu

Shughuli zako ni kubwa, watekeleza kwa zamu
Kwa sasa tunakuomba, ni zamu yao walimu
Karibu mjini Arusha, uongee na walimu.

Na karibu Mama Sitta, rais wetu walimu
Ongea bila kusita, matatizo ya walimu

In our god's name, we start the poem
The coming of the delegation, is from god's benevolence
Humanity is not a thing, we have already learnt that
You are welcome our guests, feel at home.

We all say solidarity, that is our greeting
It unites us in a union, that is our teachers' union
This is for the whole of Tanzania, receive this greeting
You are our welcome guests, feel at home.

You have done well, to visit Arusha
Arusha makes one happy, there are game parks
Tourists crowd in, from the whole world
An international city, that's Arusha you are welcome.

We had a great desire, to see you Sumaye
Lets speak with discipline, about our welfare
See us as important, we plead you to listen to us
Welcome to Arusha city, to speak with teachers.

You have a big responsibility, sorry for your difficult work

Your work is huge, you implement by importance
For now we request, that it is we the teachers' turn
Welcome to Arusha city, to speak with teachers.

And welcome Mama Sitta, our teachers' president
Speak without hesitation, about teachers' problems

Kwani yamesha kupata, unaelewa ugumu
Mama Sitta usisite, kuongea na waziri.

Tumetengwa na wazazi, huku tunategemewa
Nauli kutupa kazi, tunakiri twaonewa
Lawama hizo ni wazi, serikali inawiwa
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu!

Hali za walimu duni, utunyanywe waziri
Masikani yetu duni, hakika sio mazuri
Nyumba zetu hutamani, tunasema sio nzuri
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu.

Nyumba za vichochoroni, eti walimu aishi
Anaishi shidani, kodi yake haitoshi
Awa kama punguani, masikini mtumishi
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu!

Mishahara kucheleva, sehemu zote nchini
Kwa nini kupuuziwa, sababu hasa ni nini?
Mara nyingi yacheleva, hata huku mjini
Mishahara itolewe, kwa wakati muafaka.

Posho ya ufundishaji, kuondolewa kwa nini?
Mkairudishe basi, tuishi kama zamani
Tunalondea maisha ukwasi, itoe umasikini
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu!

Bajeti ni ndogo sana, kwa masuala ya elimu
Kwamba haina maana, na wala sio muhimu
Imefanyiwa mabaya, kuthaminiwa vigumu
Bajeti ni ndogo sana, kwa Wizara ya Elimu.

Kazi yetu kweli ni ngumu, nayo mishahara duni
Na wengi mnafahamu, na tena mnaamini
Na muone umuhimu, kazi ikawe laini
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu!

Na vifaa mashuleni, wazazi wengi washindwa
Vijijini na mijini, kununua wanashindwa
Ukaifanye kampeni, usiache kupuuzwa
Serikali ifikiri, elimu ya wanafunzi!

Sekondari bado chache, inakatisha tamaa
Waendao ni wachache, twabaki tukishangaa
Wafuzuo si wachache, hakika tunakataa
Serikali ifikiri, elimu ya wanafunzi!

Tumechoka na ahadi, tupewazo kila siku
Kusema hatuna budi, hii leo ndio siku

You have already been there, you understand the difficulty
Don't hesitate Mama Sitta, to speak to the Minister.

We have been separated from our parents, they are still
dependent upon us
It is hard to get bus fare, we acknowledge we are
oppressed
The complaints are obvious, the government is indebted
The government think about, teachers' welfare!

Teachers' conditions are worthless, lift us up minister
Our dwellings are inferior, for sure they are not good
Our homes are not desirable, we say this is not nice
The government think about, teachers' welfare!

Slum housing, it's unbelievable that teachers live there
A teacher lives in a pitiful place,
He doesn't have enough rent
He's like a fool, poor civil servant
The government should think about, teachers' welfare!

Salaries are always late, all over the country
Why is this ignored, for what reason is this so?
The salaries are often late, even here in town
The salaries have to be released, at an appropriate time.

Teaching allowance, why has it been taken away?
Please restore it, so we can live like we used to
We are waiting for a wealthy life, to remove our poverty
The government should think about, teachers' welfare!

The budget is very small, for educational matters
That it has no meaning, and it's not important
It was done badly, it's difficult to value
The budget is very small, for the Ministry of Education.

Really our work is difficult, the salaries are worthless
And lots of you know, and also believe
Go ahead see the importance, that the work becomes more
tolerable
The government should think about, teachers' welfare!

The schools' equipment, the parents can't afford
In the villages and towns, they are defeated
Launch a campaign, stop being ignored
The government should think, about students' education!

There are still few secondary schools, and is stops our
desire
Very few students go to secondary, we remain shocked
Failures are not few, we are sure of that
The government should think, about students' education!

We are tired of promises, that we are given every day
We feel we have to say it, and today is the day

Kusema imetubidi, tunakuomba Mkuu
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu!

Jibu liwe la haraka, kugonja tumeshachoka
Jibu liwe la hakika, uisingoje tena mwaka
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu!

Shukurani viongozi, wa Chama chetu walimu
Kutetea haki kazi, twasema ni kazi ngumu
Hata kama ziko wazi, kuzipata kazi ngumu
Viongozi CWT, pongezi kwa kazi ngumu.

Na mengi tuliyonayo, pa kusema ni hapa
Na muda tulionao, jamani unatukwepa
Unakwend mbio mbio, na mkono unatupa
Serikali ifikiri, masilahi ya walimu!

We are compelled to say it, and we bequest you Prime
Minister
The government should think, about teachers' welfare!

We need our answers quickly, we are tired of waiting
We need a real solution, it shouldn't take another
year
The government should think, about teachers' welfare!

Thank you leaders, of our teachers' Union
For speaking for our rights, we all say its hard work
Even though they are clear, to get them is hard work
CWT leaders, we congratulate you on your hard work.

We have a lot to say, and here is the place to say it
But our time, is slipping away
The time is racing, and it's time to bid farewell
The government should think, about teachers' welfare!

Appendix C
The Results of TTU's 2000 National Elections

Office	1 st Place No.Votes	2 nd Place No. Votes	3 rd Place No. Votes	Elected Officers
President	255	-	-	Margaret Sitta
Vice-President	228	16	9	Richard Mfune
General Secretary	250	-	-	Yhaya Msulwa
Vice-General Secretary	115	52	45	Ezekiah Oluche
Treasurer	111	55	33	Anthony Nyondo
Disabled Rep.	98	83	38	Margaret Mkamba
Womanise' Rep.	108	74	53	Felician Tarimo
Northern Zone Rep.	87	61	38	Omari Mustafa
Central Zone Rep	92	49	45	Aron Jumbe
Southern Zone Rep	84	70	51	Mohamed Mussa Utaly
Western Zone Rep.	104	69	42	M.W. Gekondo
Eastern Zone Rep.	91	55	33	Benedict Mattow
Islands Zone Rep.	169	49	20	Josephine Bivugile
Trustees	221	207	126	1. Faustine Rwilomba, 2. Fulgence Swai, 3. Justinian Rwehumbiza.

(Source: Chama cha Walimu, Tanzania (CWT) Press Release June 2000)